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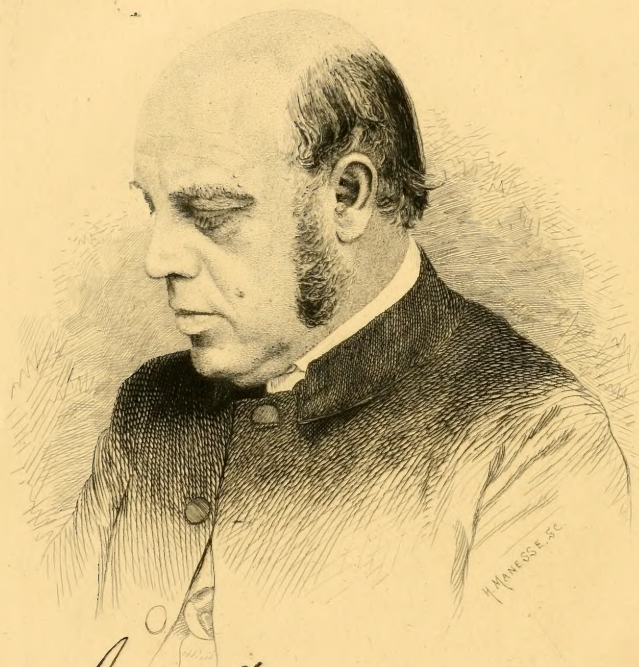


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THE
EXPOSITOR.

W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A.

THIRD STATES

Volume III.

WITH STORIES AND FRAGMENTS FROM THE HISTORY
OF THE UNITED STATES.

W. Robertson Nicoll



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CHRISTUS CONSUMMATOR :

LESSONS FROM THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

I. THE TRIALS OF A NEW AGE.

“This word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that have been made, that those things which are not shaken may remain.”—*Heb.* xii, 27 (Rev. Vers.).

EVERY age which is moved by the Spirit of God feels keenly the searching, chastening power of that Divine Presence. “He that is near Me,” the Lord is reported to have said, “is near fire.” And we cannot hope to enjoy the splendour of a fuller, purer light without enduring the pain which necessarily comes from the removal of the veils by which it was obscured. Gain through apparent loss; victory through momentary defeat; the energy of a new life through pangs of travail; such has ever been the law of spiritual progress. This law has been fulfilled in every crisis of reformation; and it is illustrated for our learning in every page of the New Testament.

But in no apostolic writing is the truth unfolded with such pathetic force as in the Epistle to the Hebrews. And so it is, I think, that that mysterious “word of consolation” appeals to us with a voice of thrilling power in our time of trial, when the law of progress, the law of fruitfulness through death, seems to be hastening to a fresh fulfilment. The student of that Epistle cannot but observe that no men were ever called upon to endure greater sacrifices, to surrender more precious hopes, to bear deeper disappointments, than those to whom it was first addressed. Men who had lived in the light of the Old Testament, men who

had known the joy of a noble ritual, men who had habitually drawn near to God in intelligible ways, men who had but lately welcomed Him in Whom they believed that the glory of Israel should be consummated, were most unexpectedly required to face what seemed to them to be the forfeiture of all that they held dearest. The letter of Scripture, the worship of the temple, the expectations of national triumph, had to be abandoned. The heirs of the patriarchs, when they first felt that they were entering on their inheritance, were compelled, if they remained Christians, to accept the position of outcasts from the ancient commonwealth of God, and to confess themselves followers of One crucified and rejected, Who delayed to assume His throne.

And what then? They could not but begin to reckon up their loss and gain. The fresh enthusiasm of their early faith had died away in the weary waiting of a lifetime. They had in part degenerated because they had not grown. But they were not uncared for in the crisis of their peril. Out of the darkness of the gathering storm, in which the Holy Place was to be for ever swept away, came a voice which interpreted the sad riddles of their fate. Under the guidance of a nameless apostle, the Hebrews were enabled to see how the sufferings of Christ were not a difficulty in the way of His Messiahship, to be compensated by a visible triumph, but the very pledge of the fulfilment of the destiny of man in spite of sin; to see how the unbelief of Israel opened the way for the larger unfolding of the world-wide counsels of God; to see how in giving up type and shadow they secured the realities which these signified; to see how things visible and transitory were replaced by things unseen and eternal; to see how above the vanishing grace of the Levitical service rose in supreme and sovereign majesty the figure of the ascended Christ Priest and King for ever, seated at the right hand of God, infinite in sympathy and power.

Now when we read the apostolic words, and picture to ourselves the sorrows which they illuminated—when we feel that in the portraiture of the perils of early believers we have the record of true human struggles, and know that the essential elements of human discipline must always be the same—we cannot, I think, fail to recognise in the trials of the Hebrews of the first age an image of the peculiar trials by which we are beset; and so by their experience we may gain the assurance that for us also there is the promise of larger wisdom where they found it, that *the removal of those things that are shaken* is brought about in order that *those things which are not shaken may remain* in serener and simpler beauty.

If we look at the circumstances of the Hebrews a little more closely we shall notice that the severity of their trials came in a great degree from mistaken devoutness. They had determined, in obedience to traditional opinion, what Scripture should mean, and they found it hard to enter into its wider teaching. They had determined that institutions which were of Divine appointment must be permanent, and they found it hard to grasp the realities by which the forms of the older worship were replaced. They had determined that Christ's sovereignty should be openly vindicated by the victorious faith of God's people, and they found it hard to hold their belief firm against the general unbelief of their fellow-countrymen.

Now in these respects, we cannot, as I said, fail to recognise that the difficulties of the Hebrews correspond with our own. For I am speaking now of the difficulties of those who hold to their first faith, and are yet conscious of shakings, changes, losses, of the removing of much which they formerly identified with it. Many among us, for example, tremble with a vague fear when they find that that "Divine Library," in the noble language of Jerome, which we call the Bible—"the Books"—"the Book"—cannot be sum-

marily separated by a sharp, unquestionable line from the other literature with which it is connected; that the text and the interpretation of the constituent parts have not been kept free from corruptions and ambiguities which require the closest exercise of critical skill; that deductions have been habitually drawn from incidental modes of expression in Scripture which cannot be maintained in the light of that fuller knowledge of God's working which He has given us.

Others again find the historical problems raised by the study of the Bible carried into a wider region. They learn in the turmoil of action, and they learn in the silence of their own souls, that the Faith can no longer be isolated and fenced off from rude questionings as something separate from common life. They perceive that they must bear, as they can, to see the deepest foundations of truth laid open and tested by impetuous inquirers; bear, as they can, to acknowledge once and again that formulas which, in earlier times, seemed to declare the Gospel adequately, no longer cover the facts of the world as they have been revealed to us in these later days.

And others have a more grievous trial still. As their view of the world is widened; as they come to understand better the capacities of humanity and the claims of Christ; as they are driven to compare the promises of the kingdom of God with the present fruits of its sway; as they feel that they cannot separate themselves from the race of which they are heirs; as they look upon the light, still after eighteen centuries struggling (as it appears) against eclipse, their heart may well sink within them. We cannot wonder if such are tempted to ask with those of old times, *Where is the promise of His coming?* or to listen with little more than the sad protest of a lonely trust to the bold assertions of those who say that the Faith has exhausted its power in dealing with the facts of an earlier and simpler civilization.

There is not, I believe, one who reads these words—not one who looks with calm, open eyes upon the spectacle of the world and the nearer vision of his own nature—who has not been stirred by the anxious thoughts which I have indicated, and asked how they shall be met, met not by a strong effort of overmastering will, but with that quiet confidence which is able to welcome every lesson of the discipline of God. And what then shall we say? How shall we escape the double danger which besets us, of hastily surrendering every position which is boldly challenged, or of rigidly refusing to consider arguments which tend to modify traditional opinion?

I do not doubt one moment, as to my answer. I bid those who are tempted to accept their trials with the frankest trust, as the conditions through which they will be brought to know God better. I have been forced by the peculiar circumstances of my work to regard from many sides the difficulties which beset our historic Faith. If I know by experience their significance and their gravity; if I readily allow that on many points I wish for fuller light; then I claim to be heard, when I say without reserve that I have found each region of anxious trial fruitful in blessing: that I have found my devout reverence for every word of the Bible quickened and deepened, when I have acknowledged that it demands the exercise of every faculty with which I have been endowed, and, that as it touches the life of man at every point, it welcomes, for its fuller understanding, the help which comes from every gain of human knowledge; that I have found my absolute trust in the Gospel of the Word Incarnate confirmed with living power, when I have seen with growing clearness that no phrases of the schools can adequately express its substance, or do more than help men provisionally to realise some part of its relation to thought and action; when I have learnt through the researches of students in

other fields to extend the famous words of the Roman dramatist, and say "*Christianus sum : nihil in rerum natura a me alienum puto*"; that I have found, even in the slow and fitful progress of the Church, which still does move forward, a spring of hope, when I turn, as I must turn from time to time, to take count of the unutterable evils of great cities, and great nations, and whole continents, which wait for atonement and redemption in the long-suffering and wisdom of God. Yes, if, as I have endeavoured to show, our trials, the trials of a new age, correspond with those of the Hebrews, the consolation which availed for them, avails for us also. We shall find in due course, as they found, that all we are required to surrender—child-like prepossessions, venerable types of opinion, partial and impatient hopes—is given back to us in a new revelation of Christ; that He is being brought nearer to us, and shown in fresh glory, through the "fallings from us, vanishings of sense and earthly things" which we had been inclined to identify with Himself.

There is a picture with which we are all familiar, in which Christ seated in glory is represented as dispensing His gifts to the representatives of suffering humanity. From His hands the slave receives freedom and the sick health: the mourner finds rest in His sympathy, old men peace, children joy. "*Christus Consolator*" is indeed an image which touches every heart. But it is not the whole Gospel; it is not, I venture to think, the particular aspect of the Gospel which is offered by the Spirit of God to us now for our acknowledgment. Sin, suffering, sorrow, are not the ultimate facts of life. These are the work of an enemy; and the work of our God and Saviour lies deeper. The Creation stands behind the Fall, the counsel of the Father's love behind the self-assertion of man's wilfulness. And I believe that if we are to do our work we must learn to think, not only of the redemption of man, but also of

the accomplishment of the Divine purpose for all that God made. We must learn to think of that *summing up of all things in Christ*, in the phrase of St. Paul, which crowns the last aspirations of physicist and historian with a final benediction. We must dare, in other words, to look beyond Christ the Consoler to Christ the Fulfiller. *Christus Consolator*—let us thank God for the revelation which leaves no trial of man unnoticed and unsoothed—leads us to *Christus Consummator*.

This thought of “Christ the Fulfiller” is, as it seems to me, the characteristic teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The author of that marvellous book, speaking to the heart with a pathos to which the prophecy of Jeremiah offers the only parallel in the Bible, shows us in many ways how He through whom God made the world in all the rich variety of its growing life, has been appointed heir of all things; how He has fulfilled the destiny of men in spite of the inroad of sin, and borne humanity to the throne of the Father; how in the plenitude of royal majesty He appears before God for those whose nature He has taken to Himself; how in Him we have present access to a spiritual society, in which earth and heaven, men and angels, are united in a glorious fellowship; how He has given us for our daily support a covenant and a service, which transfigure the conditions of our conflict into sacraments of a higher order.

These, then, are the four thoughts which I wish to follow out in due succession. They meet our difficulties, as far as I can judge, with messages of widened hope, as they met the difficulties of the Hebrews. They enable us to realise with a personal and present conviction, that the Spirit of God is even now *taking of the things of Christ, and showing them unto us*; that we too are living in an age of revelation, and called to listen to a Divine voice.

And if the thoughts seem strange to any, and removed

from the familiar circle of religious reflection; if they require devout patience for their mastering; if they add an element of infinite interest to the commonest details of life, and therefore claim the tribute of complete self-surrender; let us remember that progress is still, as in the first age, the essence of our faith. We have to gather little by little the fruits of a victory in which Christ has overcome the world. The Hebrews were, as we have seen, in danger of apostasy, because they failed to go forward. And that we may be shielded from the like peril, the words which were spoken to them are spoken also to us: *let us be borne on to perfection*, not simply "let us go on," or even "let us press on," as if the advance depended on the vigour of our own effort, but "let us be borne on," "borne on" with that mighty influence which waits only for the acceptance of faith, that it may exert its sovereign sway, "borne on" by Him whose unseen arms are outstretched beneath the most weary and the weakest, "borne on" by Him who is the Way and the End of all human endeavour.

And as we are thus "borne on," as we yield ourselves, yield every gift of mind and body, of place and circumstance, yield all that we cherish most tenderly, to the service of Him in Whom we are made more than conquerors, let us not fear that we shall lose the sense of the vastness of the Divine life in our glad consciousness of its immediate power. We assuredly shall not fail in reverent gratitude to our fathers for the inheritance which they have bequeathed to us, while we acknowledge that it is our duty to improve it. We shall not disparage the past, while we accept the inspiring responsibility of using to the uttermost the opportunities of the present. We shall cling with the simplest devotion to every article of our ancient Creed, while we believe, and act as believing, that *this is eternal life, that we may know*—know, as the original word implies, with a knowledge which is extended from generation to

generation, and from day to day,—*the only true God and Jesus Christ.*

By the pursuit of this knowledge we come to acknowledge that the difficulties which press us most sorely are really the discipline through which God is teaching us: veiled promises of coming wisdom. We learn through the living lessons of our own experience that the eternal Gospel covers the facts of life, its sorrows, its needs, its joys, its wealth. Through every conflict the Truth is seen in the majesty of its growing vigour. Shakings, shakings not of the earth only but of the heaven, will come; but what then? We know this, that all that falls is taken away, *that those things which are not shaken may remain.*

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT.

LIGHTFOOT ON THE IGNATIAN EPISTLES.

II. GENUINENESS AND DATE OF THE EPISTLES.

i. GENUINENESS OF THE EPISTLES.

THE Epistles of Ignatius, as is well known, have come down to us in three different recensions. Mainly through the researches of Zahn,¹ it is now generally admitted that of these three recensions the shorter Greek recension (containing seven Epistles) is the earliest, and that it alone can be taken into account in the discussion regarding genuineness. Lightfoot, who was previously disposed to regard the Curetonian Epistles as the earliest, has now expressed his thorough agreement with Zahn. In two comprehensive chapters,² he has discussed the longer Greek recension and the Curetonian Epistles, and has shown that the former

¹ *Ignatius von Antiochien*, 1873.

² See vol. i. pp. 222-266; 267-314.

was fabricated in the fourth century,¹ and that the latter is a harmless collection made about the year 400 or somewhat earlier. The demonstration is so complete that it is no longer necessary to spend words on this question.

There remains, therefore, only the shorter Greek recension of the Epistles. Whether these Epistles are genuine or not, is one of the main problems of early Church history. Upon the decision of this question depends more than can be indicated in a short sketch. After repeated investigations, the genuineness of the Epistles seems to me certain, and I hold the hypothesis of their spuriousness to be untenable.

In this conclusion I agree with Lightfoot, and I also thank him for having removed many difficulties in detail which I had previously felt. But, on the other hand, I can subscribe to only one of the deductions which he has drawn in the sixth chapter—that entitled “The Genuineness.”² To me it seems that neither in the section on the External Evidence, nor in that on the Internal Evidence, is everything so very plain and so completely free of difficulty as the reader would be led to suppose from Lightfoot’s representation.

I begin with the External Evidences. Lightfoot has here summed up in four propositions the conclusions reached by his investigations.³ 1. No Christian writings of the second century, and very few writings of antiquity, whether Christian or Pagan, are so well authenticated as the Epistles

¹ Lightfoot has rejected Ussher’s hypothesis that the compilation of the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, and the working up of the Ignatian Epistles were by the same hand. He assigns the Pseudo-Ignatius to the second half of the fourth century. In opposition to this I hold firmly to the conclusions which I reached (See *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. II. p. 241, sq.). I believe that the proofs of the identity of the Pseudo-Clemens and the Pseudo-Ignatius brought forward by me are so complete that they cannot be overthrown. Lightfoot has unfortunately not been able to enter more fully into these. See, however, vol. i. p. 738.

² See vol. i. pp. 315-414.

³ See vol. i. p. 407.

of Ignatius. In the Epistle of Polycarp be accepted as genuine, the authentication is perfect. 2. The main ground of objection against the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp is its authentication of the Ignatian Epistles. Otherwise, there is every reason to believe that it would have passed unquestioned. 3. The Epistle of Polycarp itself is exceptionally well authenticated by the testimony of his disciple Irenæus. 4. All attempts to explain the phenomena of the Epistle of Polycarp as forged, or interpolated to give colour to the Ignatian Epistles, have here signally failed.

I can subscribe to these propositions in regard to all they say about the Epistle of Polycarp and the value of its testimony. This Epistle is undoubtedly genuine; it is not interpolated; it can by no means be understood as the attempt of a forger to authenticate the Ignatian Epistles; and it consequently affords testimony to the genuineness of the Epistles as strong as any that can be conceived of. But with this the external evidence is exhausted. If we do not retain the Epistle of Polycarp then we must allow that *the external evidence on behalf of the Ignatian Epistles is exceedingly weak, and hence is highly favourable to the suspicion that they are spurious.* This fact, however, is kept out of sight by Lightfoot, and that indeed for these reasons, because Lightfoot (1) produces very doubtful witnesses for the Epistles,¹ and (2) has not strictly enough considered the form in which the earliest witnesses for the Epistles make their appearance. From the time before Eusebius, we possess only these testimonies to the Epistles, one by Irenæus, and one by Origen. How do these speak?

(1) Irenæus, in order to maintain the necessity of tribulations for those who would be saved, appeals to the words of a martyr whom he does not name, for he writes:² *ὡς εἶπε*

¹ In the Epistle of the Smyrnæans, the Epistle of the Churches of Gaul, Lucian, and even—though hesitatingly—Theophilus.

² *Adv. Hær.*, v. 283.

τις τῶν ἡμετέρων διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν μαρτυρίαν κατακριθεὶς πρὸς θηρία. This is followed by a sentence from Ignat. ad Rom. iv.

(2) Origen, in his prologue to the Song of Songs,¹ cites words from Ignat. ad Rom. vii., with the formula: *denique memini aliquem sanctorum dixisse, Ignatium nomine, de Christo.* In his sixth Homily on Luke, he quotes a sentence from Ignat. ad Eph. xix., with the words:² *καλῶς ἐν μιᾷ τῶν μάρτυρός τινος ἐπιστολῶν γέγραπται—τὸν Ἰγνάτιον λέγω, τὸν μετὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δεύτερον ἐπίσκοπον, τὸν ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηρίοις μαχισάμενον.*³

Up to the beginning of the third century, that is, up to the time of Origen, apart from the Epistles and the testimony of Polycarp, we have absolutely no evidence that there was an Antiochian Bishop Ignatius.

In the third century, Origen reports that Ignatius was the second bishop of Antioch; it is the only testimony that is not derived from the Epistles themselves; but more than this no one even in the Church of Ignatius was aware of, for everything else, which was reported later, and is not in the Epistles themselves, is utterly fabulous.⁴

Irenæus, Origen, and even Basil⁵ have referred to the author of the Ignatian Epistle with a *τις*, and thereby prove that there was no continuous tradition regarding the Epistles in the Church.⁶

Thus, apart from Polycarp's Epistle, there is really no

¹ *Opp.*, ed. Delarue, T. iii. p. 50 A.

² *Opp.*, T. iii. p. 938 A.

³ The sentence in Origen, *de Orat.*, 20 (comp. Ignat. ad Rom. iii), *οὐδὲν φαινόμενον καλόν*—is probably not copied from Ignatius.

⁴ On the report that Ignatius suffered martyrdom under Trajan see below.

⁵ See *Hom. in Sanctam Christi Generationem*, 3 (*Opp.*, ii. ed. Garnier, p. 598), *εἶρηται δὲ παλαιῶν τινι καὶ ἕτερος λόγος ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαθεῖν τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα τοῦ αἰῶνος οὗτο τὴν παρθενίαν τῆς Μαρίας κ.τ.λ.* See Eph. xix.

⁶ The Acts of the Martyrdom of Ignatius are not to be regarded as affording such testimony, but are pure inventions. The Roman Acts date at the earliest from the 5th century, and perhaps only from the 6th century; and even the Antiochian Acts are not ancient. That they contain an historical element is nothing more than a possibility. See *Lightfoot*, vol. ii. pp. 363–472.

external evidence. The early Church was indeed in exactly the same position in which we are. It possessed only the Epistles themselves, nothing more. It was not even known whether the writer of the seven Epistles actually suffered a martyr's death. On this fact are founded the doubts as to the historical character of an Antiochian bishop Ignatius, which many entertain. A difficult historical problem is here presented, which we are not able to clear up. How has it come about that the writer of the seven Epistles has left behind in the memory of the Church no other trace than just these Epistles! If the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp be acknowledged, it is clearly no longer admissible to answer this problem by declaring the figure of the Ignatius of the Epistles a fiction; but the problem still remains and cannot be overlooked. But in Lightfoot's work it is not acknowledged.

We now pass to the Internal Evidence. Lightfoot has summed up the results of his investigations in ten propositions.

1. "The external testimony to the Ignatian Epistles being so strong, only the most decisive marks of spuriousness in the Epistles themselves, as for instance proved anachronisms, would justify us in suspecting them as interpolated or rejecting them as spurious."

2. "But so far is this from being the case, that, one after another, the anachronisms urged against these letters have vanished in the light of further knowledge. Thus the alleged refutation of the Valentinian doctrine of æons in Magn. viii. depends on a false reading which recently discovered materials for the text have corrected. The supposed anachronism of the 'leopards' (Rom. v.) has been refuted by the production of passages overlooked by the objector. The argument from the mention of the 'Catholic Church' (Smyrn. viii.) has been shown to rest on a false interpretation which disregards the context."

3. "As regards the argument which Daillé calls 'palmary'—the prevalence of episcopacy as a recognised institution—we may say boldly that all the facts point the other way. If the writer of these letters had represented the Churches of Asia Minor as under Presbyterial government, he would have contradicted all the evidence, which, without one dissentient voice, points to episcopacy as the established form of Church government in these districts from the close of the first century."

4. "The circumstances of the condemnation, captivity, and journey of Ignatius, which have been a stumblingblock to some modern critics, did not present any difficulty to those who lived near the time, and therefore knew best what might be expected under the circumstances; and they are sufficiently borne out by examples, more or less analogous, to establish their credibility."

5. "The objections to the style and language of the Epistles are beside the purpose. In some cases they arise from a misunderstanding of the writer's meaning. Generally they may be said to rest on the assumption that an apostolic Father could not use exaggerated expressions, overstrained images, and the like—certainly a sandy foundation on which to build an argument."

6. "A like answer holds with regard to any extravagances in sentiment, or opinion, or character. Why should Ignatius not have exceeded the bounds of sober reason or correct taste? Other men, in his own and immediately succeeding ages, did both. As an apostolic Father, he was not exempt from the failings, if failings they were, of his age and position."

7. "While the investigation of the contents of these Epistles has yielded this negative result, in dissipating the objections, it has at the same time had a high positive value, as revealing indications of a very early date, and therefore presumably of genuineness, in the surrounding circum-

stances, more especially in the types of false doctrine which it combats, in the ecclesiastical status which it presents, and in the manner in which it deals with the evangelical and apostolic documents."

8. "Moreover we discover in the personal environments of the assumed writer, and more especially in the notices of his route, many subtle coincidences which we are constrained to regard as undesigned, and which seem altogether beyond the reach of a forger."

9. "So likewise the peculiarities in style and diction of the Epistles, as also in the representation of the writer's character, are much more capable of explanation in a genuine writing than in a forgery."

10. "While external and internal evidence thus combine to assert the genuineness of these writings, no satisfactory account has been, or apparently can be, given of them as a forgery of a later date than Ignatius. They would be quite purposeless as such; for they entirely omit all topics which would especially interest any subsequent age."

The largest portion of these propositions has been actually proved by Lightfoot. In fact the inner grounds for the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles are overpowering. They are apparent indeed only to the careful investigator, not to the dilettanti. It may be said: *Epistulæ Ignatii obiter inspectæ fraudem, plene perspectæ veritatem commendant.* Zahn already in this connexion brought striking arguments, which Lightfoot has further confirmed. His careful deductions regarding the situation, regarding the individuality of each separate Epistle (especially the Epistle to the Romans), regarding the route along which Ignatius travelled, regarding the relation of the Epistles to the New Testament, etc., are just so many incontestible proofs of the genuineness of the Epistles. Two of the statements, however, which are here set forth as facts, I can by no means recognise as facts which are of decisive importance

for the question of the genuineness of the Epistles, namely, the episcopate,¹ and the delineation of heresy.² On account of the importance of this matter, I must enter more fully into this question.

1. The Episcopate. Lightfoot makes the assertion: "If the writer of these letters had represented the Churches of Asia Minor as under Presbyterial government he would have contradicted all the evidence, which, without one dissentient voice, points to Episcopacy as the established form of Church government in these districts *from the close of the first century.*" Even should we take it for granted that this statement is correct, the matter of fact is very imperfectly set forth by it. The most remarkable thing is, not the monarchical-episcopal constitution in itself, but the way in which this constitution is spoken of. Lightfoot certainly is quite right, when he remarks that Ignatius' conception of the episcopate is to be completely distinguished from that of Irenæus.³ But we must observe (1) that Ignatius' conception of the position and significance of the bishop has its earliest parallel in the conception of the author of the Apostolic Constitutions (Original text, l. i.-vi., Sæc. iii. extr.), and (2) that the Epistles show that the monarchical episcopate in Asia Minor was so firmly rooted, so highly elevated above all other offices, so completely beyond dispute,⁴ that, on the ground of what we know from other sources of early Church history, no single investigator would assign the statements under consideration to the second, but at the earliest to the third century. On account of

¹ See No. 3, p. 14.

² See No. 7, p. 14.

³ Ignatius does not speak of an institution of bishops by the apostles; he does not consider bishops as successors of the apostles. He knows nothing yet of applying the name bishop beyond the realm of the local congregation.

⁴ It was a very unfortunate hypothesis to imagine that the Epistles were composed for the purpose of first securing the adoption of the episcopate or helping to secure its triumph. Nothing of this sort is to be traced in the Epistles. Ignatius rather exhorts that the already naturalised or adopted order should be turned to account as the best means against heresy.

the other facts which afford evidence of the genuineness of the Epistles, we are compelled to assign them to the first half of the second century, and therefore from this we must feel ourselves compelled to admit that our knowledge of the second century is very defective, and that we cannot be careful enough in forming conclusions. But it would be a reversal of facts, if one were to affirm, that from the way in which Ignatius has spoken of the bishop, and from the impression which one receives of the supremacy of the bishops of that time, he could obtain proofs of the genuineness of the Epistles.¹ The matter rather stands thus: *the doubts are overcome, but the enigmas still remain unsolved.* The statements of Ignatius regarding the rank to which the episcopate has attained, occupy, so far as our knowledge goes, an altogether isolated position in the second century.

But is the state of the case such, that, as Lightfoot thinks, we should be very greatly surprised, if there were nothing said in the Epistles regarding the monarchical episcopate? Are there actually witnesses to show that already, in the later years of the Apostolic age, monarchical episcopacy had been developed? Lightfoot affirms this,² and seeks to prove its existence in Asia Minor from historical witnesses. He refers, (1) to Irenæus' testimony to Polycarp, (2) to the Epistle of Polycrates of Ephesus to Victor of Rome, (3) to Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Div. Salv.* 42,

¹ In saying this I by no means deny that a series of characteristics in the representation of the episcopate, which we obtain from the Ignatian Epistles, give the impression of extreme antiquity, and that much that is strange is to be explained by the rhetoric of the bishop.

² See vol. i. pp. 377 sq.: "It is there shown, if I mistake not, that though the New Testament in itself contains as yet no direct and indispensable notices of a localized episcopate in the Gentile Churches, as distinguished from the moveable episcopate exercised by Timothy in Ephesus, and by Titus in Crete, yet there is satisfactory evidence of its development in the later years of the Apostolic age: that this development was not simultaneous and equal in all parts of Christendom; that it is more especially connected with the name of St. John; and that in the early years of the second century, the episcopate was widely spread and had taken firm root, more especially in Asia Minor and Syria."

and (4) to the Muratorian Fragment.¹ Against these witnesses I have very serious objections, both in general and in regard to details.

(1) All these witnesses belong to the end of the second century, that is, to a period when the Catholic Church was already established. By that time the New Testament was recognised as a collection of apostolic writings; by that time the rule of faith was accepted as an apostolic heritage; by that time the monarchical episcopate had secured its place as an institution ordained by the apostles. The statements, therefore, of writers during this period regarding the earliest ages of the Church in most cases *could* not be correct.

(2) As concerns Irenæus' testimony to Polycarp, upon which Lightfoot places the highest value, it is to be considered, that Irenæus communicates a list of bishops of Rome, which reaches from Paul and Peter to Eleutherus, and declares that the Apostles had ordained Linus as bishop in Rome. That this is false, can be proved, and is not denied even by Lightfoot. But what reliance then can we have in the statement of Irenæus that Polycarp was ordained a bishop by the Apostles? If to this it be replied that Irenæus was personally acquainted with Polycarp, and that consequently his testimony has here quite a different weight, it must still be said that by an uncritical interpretation of the historical succession—Irenæus, Polycarp, John—the entire system of catholicism can be dragged into the Apostolic Age. Take an example. Irenæus has the New Testament and says nothing as to when the New Testament had its origin; he compares the four Gospels with the four parts of heaven. Hence his honoured teacher must have already possessed the New Testament, and since he [Poly-

¹ The testimony of Polycarp (*Ep. ad Philipp. inscri.*), Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι, is no certain testimony to the existence of a monarchical episcopate.

carp] has faithfully preserved the heritage of John, nothing taken from and nothing added to it, the Apostle John must already have had the New Testament. Take another example. Irenæus regards the bishops as the successors of the apostles, who have received the *charisma veritatis*. Since he can have brought forward nothing new, which he had not learned from Polycarp, this must already have been Polycarp's view. No considerate critic will accept these conclusions, nor admit that from the statement of Irenæus¹ — Πολύκαρπος οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων μαθητευθείς καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπίσκοπος — it will follow that Irenæus knew on sure historical grounds that Polycarp was ordained a *monarchical bishop* by the Apostles.² He will rather, either assume that the assertion of Irenæus is simply a combination on the model of the Gallican bishop, or he will at furthest regard it as credible that some apostle or other entrusted Polycarp with the office of the ἐπίσκοπή, while in this office he gives the blessing alongside of other bishops of the same community. But Irenæus in this passage undoubtedly supposes that Polycarp by apostolic ordination has become what bishops of his time (about 185) were, namely, successors of the apostles endued with special official grace. That this is incorrect, even Lightfoot cannot dispute, but then he should not borrow from the passage a testimony to the existence of *monarchical* episcopate in the age of Domitian and Trajan. Irenæus does not distinguish between monarchical bishops and episkopoi: Lightfoot himself distinguishes between them, and knows very well³ that there were ἐπίσκοποι in many Churches but yet no ἐπίσκοπος. But how will one prove that from the

¹ *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 3, 3.

² The general character of the expression should be noted.

³ See *Philippians*, p. 181, sq.

beginning Polycarp was the *one* bishop in Smyrna? It cannot be proved from the testimony of Irenæus.¹

(3) Still less weight is to be given to the testimony of Polycrates (in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, v. 24). Polycrates wrote about the year 195. He enumerates several famous bishops in Asia Minor from the age of the Antonines, and says that seven of his relatives had been bishops, and that he himself observed Easter in accordance with the tradition of his relatives. More than this he does not say. How from these words it should follow that there were already in the age of Trajan and Hadrian monarchical bishops in Asia Minor is to me utterly inexplicable. A sceptic might indeed draw the conclusion, from the fact that Polycrates speaks of seven relations who had been bishops, that in Ephesus there had been presbyters who were at the same time bishops. I do not draw this conclusion, but for the period from A.D. 90 to 140 the statements of Polycrates are without any value.

(4) The testimony of Clement of Alexandria² depends upon an altogether unverifiable source. It consists of a legend whose voucher Clement has not produced.³ From such legends one cannot accept proofs. But even apart

¹ After quoting many passages from Irenæus, Lightfoot concludes with the words (vol. i. p. 379): "After every reasonable allowance made for the possibility of mistakes in details, such language, from a man standing in the position of Irenæus with respect to the previous and contemporary history of the Church, leaves no room for doubts as to the early and general diffusion of episcopacy in the regions with which he was acquainted." But as observed above, Irenæus has also regarded the monarchical episcopate in Rome as primitive. From the words of Irenæus there is absolutely nothing gained in regard to the origin of the episcopate and its spread during the period between A.D. 90 and 140.

² *Quis Div. Salv.*, 42;—ἄκουσον μῦθον, οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελεστήσαντος . . . μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπῆι παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλῆσιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὄλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρω ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων.

³ Clement himself is not at all sure about the credibility of the story: he has it from hearsay, and he does not once name the city in which that which is related took place.

from this, the testimony is evidently worthless, for it proves too much. According to it already in the time of John the distinction between clergy and laity had been firmly established in Asia Minor, and the congregations had not chosen their own office-bearers, but John had appointed them for them. It comes then to this, that ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων cannot by any means be so understood as to imply that there was only *one* bishop appointed in each city, particularly as in the legend of the bishop, a presbyter also is named.

(5) Least of all can I understand why Lightfoot should have referred to the Muratorian Fragment. The passage in question reads: "Johannes ex discipulis cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit etc." Now that which I have already advanced against all these witnesses under (1), applies in a special manner to the Muratorian Fragment. Then no one knows who are to be understood by the *episcopi sui*. The *episcopi* of the Ephesian congregation may indeed be intended. Such an acceptance of the term would actually rest on the supposition that the author of the Fragment has faithfully reported an old story. I am not of that opinion; but whoever regards the notice as historically valuable, cannot turn away from this interpretation, for it is nearer the truth than the other, according to which those *episcopi* were monarchical bishops from the province of Asia. But the proper explanation is this, that the author of the Fragment has thought of John as the Metropolitan of Asia.

Thus are all the witnesses exhausted. I may now sum up my judgment. *Apart from the Epistles of Ignatius, we do not possess a single witness to the existence of the monarchical episcopate in the Churches of Asia Minor so early as the times of Trajan and Hadrian.*¹ We do not indeed

¹ Lightfoot, too, does not regard the angels of the Seven Churches in Asia Minor (*Apocal. of John*, ii. 3) as bishops. See his *Comm. on Philippians*, p. 197 sq.

possess any witnesses that show that it did not exist,¹ and this is sufficiently important; but the Epistles of Ignatius as a source of information stand alone, not only in assuring us that the monarchical episcopate was thoroughly naturalized in the Churches of Asia Minor of his day, but also in testifying to the existence of this episcopate.² But if this be so, then one cannot obtain any evidence for the genuineness of the Epistles from what is to be read about the episcopate in the Ignatian Epistles. The conviction of the genuineness of the Epistles obtained from other grounds must rather be defended against the objections which obtrude themselves when the constitutional matters are considered. Only in three points can we recognise a relatively high antiquity for the Epistles in regard to these matters; in so far as (1) their author does not name the the bishops successors of the apostles, (2) reports nothing about an institution of bishops by the apostles, and (3) only takes the bishop, as representative of God and Christ, to be the head of the particular Christian community.

Giessen.

A. HARNACK.

¹ With reference to the Roman Church we do possess such a witness in the Shepherd of Hermas.

² The question of the origin of the episcopate has only been touched upon by Lightfoot in his works. I have, therefore, not found any occasion for entering into it more fully. When he remarks (vol. i. p. 739): "The document entitled *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* seems to me to confirm very strongly the historical views put forward by me in the Essay on the Christian Ministry (*Philipp.*, p. 181 ff.) to which I have here (vol. i. p. 376) referred,"—I cannot give to this judgment an unqualified assent. I regard that Essay as excellent; but the meaning of the author in reference to the origin of the episcopate did not seem to me quite plain, and I believe further that the newly discovered *Διδαχὴ* renders it necessary that in answering the question about the origin of the Catholic church constitution other factors should be taken into account besides those which Lightfoot has given attention to in his celebrated treatise. See my edition of the *Διδαχὴ*, Prolegg. S. 88–158. It must be conceded to the Episcopalians that there were already *ἐπίσκοποι* in the Apostolic age, and that not every *πρεσβύτερος* was an *ἐπίσκοπος*. But on the other hand, it can be shown that the monarchical constitution of the Churches cannot be traced back to the apostles.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE COSMOGONY OF GENESIS.

A WELL-WORN theme! we fancy we hear the reader exclaim to himself. True, the subject is one on which it is difficult to say what has not, in one form or another, been said before; nevertheless it is also a subject which ever engages fresh interest, and the editor of the EXPOSITOR is anxious to know what has been said last upon it.¹ Are we any nearer than we were to a reconciliation of Genesis and science? and, if not, what position is the theologian to assume, and in what light is he to view the familiar and impressive narrative with which the Bible opens?

The cosmogony of Genesis occupies the opening section of the important document of the Pentateuch, which, passing rapidly over the patriarchal period, culminates in the detailed description of the theocratic institutions of ancient Israel, the structure of the Tabernacle, the organization of the priesthood, and the sacrificial system.² This opening section, it should be understood, does not terminate with the first chapter, but with the third verse of chap. ii. (where in the Revised Version a new paragraph commences)—or perhaps, more strictly, with the word *created* in ver. 4³—the first three verses of the second chapter describing the Divine rest of the Seventh Day, and ver. 4 beginning a new account, by another hand, dealing more particularly with the formation of man, and passing on to describe the Fall. The narrative broken off at ii. 4 is

¹ The present article, it may be stated, was completed, and in the printer's hands, before Professor Huxley's reply to Mr. Gladstone in the *Nineteenth Century* for December last had appeared or even been announced. The materials embodied in it were, in fact, collected some time since for an independent purpose. The writer would not willingly interpose between two such combatants.

² Exod. xxv.—xxxi., xxxv.—xl.; Lev. i.—xvi., etc.

³ If the rendering of R.V. be correct, the construction of the verse must have been modified by the final Redactor of the Pentateuch.

resumed in chap. v., where the attentive reader will notice its characteristic phraseology recurring. The question, however, of the precise point at which the section terminates is immaterial for our present purpose, the details of the work of creation being entirely confined to chap. i. We may proceed, therefore, at once without further preface to the consideration of this.

The past history of our earth is known approximately by evidence which cannot be gainsaid—the evidence engraven in the rocks. Those cliffs which tower out of the sea on our southern coasts have revealed to the microscope the secret of their growth: they are composed of the minute shells of marine organisms, deposited at the rate of a few inches a century at the bottom of the ocean, and afterwards, by some great upheaval of the earth's crust, lifted high above the waves. Our coal measures are the remains of mighty forests which, one after another in slow succession, have come and gone in certain parts of the earth's surface, and have stored up the energy, poured forth during long ages from the sun, for our consumption and enjoyment.¹ The huge boulders resting now upon the soil in many parts of this country, the striated rocks eroded by the slow movement of glaciers, bear witness to the long centuries during which this hemisphere was encrusted in a case of ice. Since Pearson wrote² geology has become a science; and the indications which have been noticed, with countless others, show that the earth was not created, substantially as we know it, some 6000 years ago, but that it reached its present state, and received its rich and wondrous adornment of vegetable and animal life, by a gradual process, extending over untold centuries, and embracing unnumbered generations of living forms. More than this, not only do geology

¹ Comp. two striking passages in the *Hulsean Lectures for 1867*, by Prof. Pritchard, pp. 11 ff., 19 ff.

² 1659. See end of Art. I. in ed. 5 (1683) "most certainly within not more than six, or, at farthest, seven thousand years" (fol. 68: comp. fol. 62).

and palæontology trace the history of the earth's crust, and determine the succession of living forms which have peopled it, but astronomy, comparing the system of which this globe forms part with other systems, takes a bolder flight, and rises to the conception of a theory explaining, by the aid of known mechanical and physical principles, the formation of the earth itself. Observing the nature of the sun and of the planets, and other countless small bodies revolving round it; perceiving, by the spectroscope and other means, that the elements of which all are composed are similar, and assured by the nebulæ of the existence in the heavens of huge masses of luminous gas; astronomers following Laplace have supposed that the substance of which the solar system is composed existed once as a diffused gaseous mass, which gradually condensed and became a rotating sphere, from which, in succession, the different planets were flung off, while the remainder was more and more concentrated until it became what we call the sun.¹ One of these planets, our earth—we need affirm nothing respecting the others—in course of time, by reduction of temperature, and otherwise, developed the conditions adequate for the support of life. Certainly, both in structure and mechanism, the different parts and movements of the solar system are so inter-related, that it is difficult not to postulate for them some common physical source; and this theory, which has been accepted, at least provisionally, by many as well astronomers as theologians, provides the unity of origin desiderated; and, while it satisfies the scientific instinct, presents at the same time, on a majestic scale, an example of that

¹ For further particulars reference may be made to almost any modern manual of astronomy. Compare Whewell, *Essay on the Plurality of Worlds* (1853), p. 243: "The planets and the stars are the lumps which have flown from the potter's wheel of the Great Worker;—the shred-coils which, in the working, sprang from His mighty lathe;—the sparks which darted from His awful anvil when the solar system lay incandescent thereon;—the curls of vapour which rose from the great cauldron of creation when its elements were separated."

slow development of a pre-arranged plan, which in a well-known passage is signalled by Butler as one of the most striking characteristics of the Divine action.¹

Passing by some questions, chiefly connected with exegesis, which though not without interest in themselves have no direct bearing on the present issue, let us proceed at once to compare the process by which, according to the narrative in Genesis, the earth was fitted to become the habitation of man, with that which is disclosed by the investigations of science. In the first place, since the fossil remains embedded in the different strata of the earth's surface show, beyond reach of controversy, that the living forms which preceded man upon this globe were distributed in a definite order over periods of vast duration, we must, if we suppose this order to be described in Genesis, inquire whether it is permissible to understand the term *day* in any but its literal sense. *In the representation of the writer* it seems clear that the term denotes a period of twenty-four hours. The passages which have been adduced to establish the contrary are inconclusive. Certainly the term *day* is sometimes used to mark what may be in reality a longer period by concentrating it, as it were, into a vivid point; but this usage is practically confined to the prophetic descriptions of the arrival of a new epoch, designated as the "day of Jehovah" (Isa. ii. 12, etc.), or to the idiomatic expression *the day of . . . = the time of . . .* (Isa. xi. 16; Jer. vii. 22, xi. 4, xvi. 19, xvii. 17, etc.); and in such phrases the "day," used thus metaphorically, is naturally not subdivided into day and night. Psalm xc. 4 (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 8) is not more conclusive. By the expression, "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday," the Psalmist significantly declares that as a measure of the

¹ *Analogy*, Pt. ii. ch. iv. (last paragraph).

Divine eternity, human standards of time are inapplicable ; but where, as here, it is the writer's object not to contrast the eternity of God with the transient life of man, but to mark the stages of the Divine action itself, an adaptation of the Psalmist's poetical phraseology does not appear in place. In the representation of the writer, then, it seems that the term must be held to denote a literal day. At the same time the possibility must be admitted that the writer may have consciously used the term figuratively, fully aware on the one hand that the work of the Creator could not be measured by human standards, but on the other hand desirous of artificially accommodating it to the period of the week. In spite of the phrases *evening* and *morning*, which seem to imply literal days, the supposition that the narrator meant his "days" as the figurative representation of periods should not, as the present writer ventures to think, be ruled as inadmissible.¹

If, then, at least provisionally, *day* be interpreted as equivalent to *period*, two questions at once arise: Do the days of Genesis correspond with well defined geological periods? and does the order in which different living things are stated to have been created agree with the facts of geology? To both these questions candour compels the answer, No. Here is a table of the succession of life upon the globe, taken (with slight modifications in form) from Sir J. W. Dawson's *Chain of Life in Geological Time*²:—

¹ Commentators are much divided in opinion respecting the word. Keil, for instance, maintains that the explanation ("Umdeutung") of the *days* as *periods* cannot be justified exegetically; and Professor Huxley (*American Addresses*, p. 20) declares that "as one who is not a Hebrew scholar, he can only stand by and admire the marvellous flexibility of a language which admits of such diverse interpretations." The question, however, is not so much what the word *means*, as whether or not it may have been applied figuratively by the writer. It seems reasonable to admit that this may have been the case. The "morning" and "evening" will then be part, not of the reality, but of the representation.

² Religious Tract Society.

		ANIMAL LIFE.	VEGETABLE LIFE.
Eozoic	1. Laurentian.	<i>Eozoon Canadense</i> . ¹	
	2. Huronian.	Age of <i>Protozoa</i> (lowest marine animals).	Indications of plants not determinable.
Paleozoic	3. Cambrian.	Invertebrata: Age of <i>mollusks, corals, and crustaceans</i> .	<i>Marine plants</i> (sea-weeds, etc.).
	4. Silurian.		
	5. Devonian.	<i>Fishes</i> abundant (but no modern species). <i>Amphibians</i> (many of large size).	
	6. Carboniferous.	<i>Reptiles</i> begin (chiefly smaller and lower species). <i>Insects</i> (spiders, beetles, cockroaches, etc.).	<i>Coal plants</i> ; chiefly tree-ferns and large mosses (flowerless plants), pines, and cycads.
	7. Permian.		
Mesozoic	8. Triassic.	Earliest <i>marsupial mammals</i> .	
	9. Jurassic.	Age of great <i>reptiles and birds</i> .	Earliest <i>modern trees</i> .
	10. Cretaceous.		
Cainozoic	11. Tertiary (closing with Glacial Period).	Age of <i>extinct mammals</i> . First living invertebrates.	Age of <i>Angiosperms and palms</i> .
	12. Post-Tertiary.	Age of <i>modern mammals and man</i> .	

The earliest organic forms occur in the remains belonging to the period first named, marked, as its name implies, by the "dawn of life."

In Genesis the order is:—

Third Day.—Grass, herbs (*i.e.* vegetation more generally), trees.

(Fourth Day.—Luminaries.)

Fifth Day.—Aquatic animals, small (שְׂרִיף),² and great (תַּנִּינִים),³ and winged creatures (birds; also probably such insects as usually appear on the wing).⁴

Sixth Day.—Land animals, both herbivora (בְּהֵמָה) and carnivora (חַיֵּתוֹ אֲרִי),⁵ and creeping things (small reptiles; perhaps also creeping insects). Man.

¹ If this be of organic origin, a question on which geologists appear still to be undecided. Comp. Geikie's *Text Book of Geology* (1885), p. 634 f.

² Lit. *swarming things* (see Exod. viii. 3), a term applied also to land-creatures (Lev. xi. 20–23, 29–31, 41–43, R.V., where it is rendered *creeping, creep*).

³ *Sea monsters*: cf. Job vii. 12. Applied specially to the crocodile, regarded as a symbol of Egypt (Isa. li. 9; Ps. lxxiv. 13 [R.V. retains here the old popular rendering inherited from Coverdale, *dragon*]); but also applicable apparently to a land-reptile (Exod. vii. 9, 10, 12).

⁴ Cf. Lev. xi. 20–23, R.V.

⁵ Or, domesticable and wild. The distinction is true generally, but must not be pressed.

The two series are evidently at variance. (1) The geological record contains no evidence of clearly defined periods, corresponding to the days of Genesis. This, however, may be considered a minor discrepancy. (2) In Genesis vegetation is complete two days before animal life appears: geology shows that they appear simultaneously—even if animal life does not appear first.¹ (3) In Genesis birds appear together with aquatic creatures, and precede all land animals: according to the evidence of geology, birds are unknown till a period much later than that at which aquatic creatures (including fishes and amphibia) abound, and they are preceded by numerous species of land animals—in particular by insects, and other “creeping things.”

The second and third of these discrepancies are formidable. To remove them, harmonists have had recourse to different methods, of which the following are the principal:—

i. It has been supposed that the main description in Genesis does not relate to the geological periods at all, that room is left for these periods between ver. 1 and ver. 2, that the life which then flourished upon the earth was brought to an end by a catastrophe the results of which are alluded to in ver. 2, and that what follows is the description of a *second* creation, immediately preceding the appearance of man. In so far as this theory assumes a destruction of pre-existing life to be alluded to in ver. 2, and its renovation to be described in the verses which follow, it is called the “restitution-hypothesis.” Exegetically the theory must be granted to be in the abstract admissible; the form of ver. 2² is that which is frequently used, in introducing a new narrative, to state a fact or

¹ It is admitted that the proof from science of the existence of plants *before* animals, is inferential and *à priori*. (See the work cited, p. 28, note 1, pp. 191-2, 196.)

² The copula with a noun followed by the substantive verb. Cf. iii. 1; Num. xxxii. 1; Judg. xi. 1; 2 Kings v. 1; and other instances cited by Dr. Pusey in the Preface to *Lectures on Daniel* (ed. 2), pp. lxxxiii.-lxxxvii.

condition from which it starts, and implies no necessary connexion with ver. 1. At the same time a connexion with ver. 1 is in no respect excluded by the form of the verse; and the assumption of an interval between them wide enough to embrace the whole of geological time is contrary to the general tenor of the opening verses of the narrative. It is a scientific difficulty that the theory assumes the existence of the earth together with the whole flora and fauna of the geological periods, prior to the creation of light and formation of the sun, etc. And, thirdly, the existing species of both plants and animals are so closely related to those of the period shortly preceding the appearance of man, that the assumption of an intervening state of chaos and ruin is in the last degree improbable; not only would it be in direct conflict with the continuity of design which these facts establish, but geologists themselves pronounce it to be untenable.¹ Arbitrary in itself, and receiving no support or countenance from science, the restitution-hypothesis has been generally abandoned by modern apologists.²

ii. It has been supposed that the narrative was not meant to describe the actual succession of events, but was the description of a series of *visions* presented prophetically to the narrator's mental eye, and representing not the first

¹ Hugh Miller, *Testimony of the Rocks*, p. 122.

² In the present century it has been advocated most notably by J. H. Kurtz, in his *Bibel und Astronomie* (ed. 5, 1864), abridged in the English translation of his *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. i. pp. i.-cxxx., see I. § 6, III. § 12. It was embraced also by one whose name and writings do not yet deserve to be forgotten—Dr. Chalmers. See his *Memoirs*, by Dr. Hanna (1851), vol. i. p. 386 f. (relating to the year 1814), and his *Treatise on Natural Theology* (1836), Pt. II. ch. ii. §§ 1, 24, 26 (in the Glasgow edition of his *Works*, in 25 vols., vol. i. pp. 229, 250 f., 256). But the language of verses 14–18 presents a stumbling-block which both Dr. Chalmers (following Rosenmüller) and Kurtz (I. § 8) in vain endeavour to surmount. (Of course the argument for creative intervention derived from the “immutability of species” would require now to be re-stated.)

This hypothesis is stated by Zöckler to have been first propounded by Episcopus, an Arminian theologian of the 17th century.

appearance of each species of life upon the globe, but its maximum development. The "drama of creation," it is said, is not described as it was enacted historically, but *optically*, as it would present itself to a spectator, in a series of pictures, or tableaux, embodying the most characteristic and conspicuous feature of each period, and, as it were, summarizing in miniature its results. The view that the contents of the narrative were revealed in prophetic vision, was suggested by Kurtz¹ (though he, in accordance with his restitution-theory, interpreted the "days" literally); it was adopted and accommodated, with great eloquence and skill, to the geological periods by Hugh Miller.²

The Third Day is identified with the Carboniferous period, the *marine* life of the preceding periods being supposed to be not visible in the tableaux, and, therefore, disregarded. The theory expounded in Hugh Miller's delightful pages will be abandoned by many with regret; but the arguments against it appear to be conclusive. They are enumerated by Delitzsch,³ the principal ones being, that no indication is contained in the narrative of its being the relation of a vision (which in other cases is regularly noted, *e.g.* Amos vii.-ix.; Isa. vi.; Ezek. i., etc.), that it purports to describe not appearances ("And I saw, and behold . . ."), but facts ("Let the earth. . . . And it was so"), and that to substitute one for the other is to attribute to the narrator what he nowhere expresses or claims. It is a material, and not merely a formal difficulty, that, while marine animals, small as well as great, were not hidden from view in the tableau of the Fifth Day, the fishes and great amphibia of the Devonian period (which precedes the Carboniferous period) are not described; in accordance with the hypothesis itself, these should have been noticed before the vegetation of the Third Day.

1. c. I. § 3, § 8.

² *Testimony of the Rocks* (1857).

³ *Commentary on Genesis* (1872), p. 68 f.

iii. Sir J. W. Dawson, one of the ablest and most scholarly writers on the subject,¹ rejecting (p. 193) the hypothesis of Hugh Miller, as Hugh Miller before him had rejected that of Kurtz, adopts another mode of reconciliation, assigning nearly the whole of the Palæozoic and Mesozoic periods (Nos. 4 to 9 in the table) to the Fifth Day, and supposing 2 and 3 to contain such relics as survive of the work of the Third Day. The objections to this scheme are: (i.) it brings together fishes and birds, which nevertheless are in reality widely separated (Nos. 5 and 9); (ii.) Genesis places the appearance of creeping things on the Sixth Day, while in fact they appear in what Sir J. W. Dawson assigns to the Fifth Day (Nos. 5 and 6); (iii.) in Genesis vegetation, including trees, is complete on the Third Day, whereas prior to the Silurian period (No. 4) nothing but the humblest forms of *marine* vegetation is observable. The last difficulty is felt by Sir J. W. Dawson, and he allows that the existence before the Silurian period of vegetation that would satisfy the language of Genesis still awaits proof.² He is sanguine himself that in time this proof may be forthcoming; but the fact that vegetable life is admitted to have advanced progressively from lower to higher forms is not favourable to this expectation.³ A theory which identifies the Third Day not with the period during which an abundant vegetation is known to have flourished, but with one during which, as geologists assure us, "at the utmost we can only speculate upon its presence or condition,"⁴ can scarcely be received as satisfactory.

Two discrepancies of a different order remain to be

¹ *Origin of the World according to Revelation and Science* (London, 1877).

² Pp. 192, 194, 195.

³ Dana (*Manual of Geology*, 1880, pp. 157 f.) admits only the lowest form of life as a (possible) explanation of the graphite (carbon) of the Laurentian period.

⁴ Phillip's *Manual of Geology*, ed. 2 (1885), by Seeley and Etheridge, vol. ii. pp. 23-5.

noticed. (i.) Upon the assumption of Laplace's theory of the formation of the solar system (which may be said to be tacitly accepted upon both sides), the formation of the sun and moon cannot be placed subsequently to the separate existence of the earth and the appearance upon it of a tolerably complete vegetation ("trees"): it is assigned in Genesis to the Fourth Day. The explanation usually offered is that *made* (עָשָׂה) in ver. 16, means not *formed* but *appointed*, appointed, viz. to their office and work (including—or, at least, attended by, cf. ver. 17—the "setting" or "placing them in the heavens").¹ This explanation, however, is quite untenable. (1) In the very few passages in which עָשָׂה means *appointed*, either this sense is at once apparent from the context,² or the word is followed by a specification of the office or function intended;³ used absolutely, it can only be a synonym of *formed*.⁴ The *office* for which the luminaries are ordained is described in ver. 17 by a different word.⁵ The expression in ver. 14 *Let there be luminaries . . .* implies that, in the conception of the writer, luminaries had not previously existed. (2) The hypothesis of the sun and moon being assigned to their places after an abundant vegetation had appeared upon the earth, is opposed to the entire scheme of the solar system, as disclosed by science. The process by which the different bodies composing it acquired their existing dimensions, and their orbits and distances were adjusted to their present mean averages, must have been a gradual

¹ *Origin of the World, etc.*, p. 201.

² As, "He *made* priests from among all the people" (1 Kings xiii. 31, R.V.); 2 Sam. xv. 1 (where "prepared" is lit. *made*); 1 Kings i. 5; 2 Kings xxi. 6 (R.V. *marg.*). The passage 1 Sam. xii. 6, stands alone in the Old Testament.

³ As Ps. civ. 4; 1 Sam. viii. 16. In both these cases עָשָׂה or עָשָׂה is the word commonly employed (Gen. xlv. 8; Exod. xviii. 21, 25; Deut. xvi. 18; 1 Sam. viii. 12; Ps. civ. 3). In Ps. civ. 19, "He made the moon for—*i.e.* with reference to—stated times (sacred seasons)," *made* retains its proper force.

⁴ As ver. 26; chap. v. 1; Amos v. 8; Job ix. 9; Ps. cxv. 15, etc.

⁵ עָשָׂה

one; and it is unreasonable to suppose that the *final* stage of this process, such as might have been passed through after the earth was clad with vegetation, could be described by the term "made," or designated as a "setting" in the heavens. This word then must be taken in its natural sense. It is true, now, that *made* does not in itself specify the *mode* of formation employed, and would be perfectly applicable to the concentration of diffused matter (in accordance with Laplace's theory) to form the sun; but this explanation is precluded by the physical inconsistency it which it at once lands us. If the different bodies constituting the solar system were formed by the gradual condensation of diffused matter, it is incredible, and indeed impossible, that one member of the system, viz. the earth, should have consolidated, and have so far cooled as for seas to exist and vegetation to appear, *while the substance of the sun itself was still in at least a partially diffused condition*. The present writer recently, for his own satisfaction, put this question definitely to one of the most eminent of living English astronomers, whose name, were it to be mentioned, would be at once recognised as at the same time that of an eloquent and able apologist. The answer which he received was unmistakeable. "It is not only unscientific, *i.e.* inconsistent with the harmony of known facts, but incomprehensible, to suppose that the earth was clothed in vegetation and 'fruit trees,' while the sun or its atmosphere was in a diffused unconcentrated condition. At such a period of the sun's condition, vegetation could only exist in a cooked state." The 14th to the 17th verses of Gen. i. do not indeed affirm that the luminaries were *created* on the Fourth Day, but they imply that there were no luminaries previously—whether sun or moon, fixed stars, or planets; that these were "made" then—whether from pre-existing matter or not, is immaterial; and "set" (not merely "adjusted") in their places in the heavens,

after the separation of sea and land, and the appearance of vegetation upon the surface of the earth. No reconciliation of this representation with the data of science has yet been found.

These objections, it may be thought, are of force only against the attempt to reconcile the Biblical cosmogony with a particular theory, viz. Laplace's. True, the Creator, so far as we can see, had it pleased Him so to do, could have created the earth, and fitted it for the maintenance of life, prior to the creation of the other heavenly bodies; but that He did this actually is contradicted by the evidence of the solar system itself, which, in its organization and structure, bears marks of being the resultant of a long succession of antecedent changes, effected in accordance with definite laws, and modifying, slowly but simultaneously, and in unbroken continuity, the different bodies of which it consists. The theory of the separate and isolated creation, first of the earth, then of the other heavenly bodies, *does not account for the phenomena of correlation, and unity of origin*, which impress with irresistible cogency every scientific observer. If Laplace's hypothesis, upon whatever grounds, be abandoned, the substitution of another, which will account better for these phenomena, rests not with the theologian, but with the mathematical physicist or astronomer. And the reconciliation of any such new hypothesis with the narrative of Genesis rests likewise with the astronomer. The problem is to find a theory of the origin of the solar system which, while adequate scientifically, and accounting comprehensively for the phenomena of correlation and unity which have been alluded to, shall at the same time be consistent with the existence of the earth and the presence upon it of vegetable life, for an indefinite period before the other bodies composing that system were formed. Laplace's theory, as we have seen, does not satisfy this double condition. The consideration

of the whole question rests with those whose minds are versed in the methods and principles of physical science. But the theologian will do wisely if he declines to commit himself either to any theory of the origin of the solar system, or to any attempt to reconcile such theory with the representation in Genesis, which does not in the judgment of competent scientific authority, satisfy the demands of science.¹

¹ Keil, adhering in every respect to the literal interpretation of Gen. i., attempts to discredit the conclusions of geology, explaining (apparently) the phenomena of the earth's strata by means of the deluge of Noah! But whatever may be the difference between geologists upon the *causes* of particular phenomena, or upon the *absolute* date of the successive formations, all are agreed upon the main conclusions, viz. that animal and vegetable life appear *together* in the earliest strata, and that these date from a period vastly anterior to the creation of man and *à fortiori* to the Noachian deluge. Keil's entire treatment of the scientific issue is in fact that of a writer belonging to the 18th century (see especially the notes at the end of verses 19, 30). It is not a question of the omnipotence of the Creator; the bodies constituting the visible universe bear the marks of being parts of a vast and wonderfully constituted *system*, the significance of which is entirely destroyed by the supposition that it was created (or completed) literally four days after the earth, in the year 4004 B.C.

A few words may be permitted on a recent work by Dr. Kinns, entitled *Moses and Geology*. This work is a popular explanation of different scientific facts, arranged in the order of the narrative in Genesis; but the space devoted in it to the question of reconciliation is exceedingly small. The correspondence of "fifteen creative events," exhibited in the table pp. 13-15, is inconclusive upon both logical and material grounds. If the description in Genesis be so precise that the grass, herbs, and fruit-trees of ver. 11, can be identified with the flora of the Silurian, Devonian and Carboniferous periods respectively, it is legitimate to expect similar precision in every part of the narrative. But in point of fact, as regards the abundant and varied animal life which marked the same periods, the narrative is altogether silent. To escape this difficulty, Dr. Kinns does violence to the language of ver. 20, by interpreting it not of the dawn of animal life, but of a great increase in the number of the genera of marine and other animals—contrary to the evident intention of the writer. Other items in the list of correspondences are open to similar objections. Does science, for instance, teach that seas ("water," ver. 2) existed, while the substance of the solar system was still diffused? It is mockery to suppose, as is done p. 21 f., free hydrogen and oxygen (!) to be denoted by the term "water." And if (p. 13) the formation of "air and water" be assigned to the Second Day, this is contrary to the express language of ver. 2. The key, it is evident, only fits the fifteen-warded lock *after both have been subjected to arbitrary alteration and adjustment*. Before a valid argument can be based upon the number and minuteness of the correspondences, they must be duly compared with disagreements and omissions, and their relative weight determined. Dr. Kinns deserves

(ii.) From the injunction in ver. 30, it is a legitimate inference that the narrator considered the original condition of animals generally to be one in which they subsisted solely on vegetable food. This is not merely inconsistent with the physical structure of many animals (which is such as to require animal food), but is contradicted by the facts of palæontology, which afford conclusive evidence of animals having been the prey of one another long before the date of man's appearance upon earth.

From all that has been said, however reluctant we may be to make the admission, only one conclusion seems possible. Read without prejudice or bias, the narrative of Genesis i. creates an impression *at variance with the facts revealed by science*: the efforts of reconciliation which have been reviewed are different modes of obliterating its characteristic features, and of reading into it a *view which it does not express*. Every proposed scheme¹ either combines what is separate in one series, or divides what is united in the other; and all presuppose a non-natural interpretation of *made* in ver. 16. While fully bearing in mind the immediate design of the narrator, to describe, viz. how the earth was fitted to become the abode of man, it is impossible not to feel that had he been acquainted with its actual past, he would, while still using language equally simple, equally popular, have expressed himself in different terms.

the credit of having produced an entertaining book on popular science, but his reconciliation is entirely illusory. The scientific authorities, quoted pp. xvii.-xx. (7th ed.), it should be observed, certify the accuracy of the facts stated by Dr. Kinns *in themselves*; but pronounce no opinion whatever upon *the system by which they are accommodated with the narrative of Genesis*.

¹ Including, it must be reluctantly added, the one advocated by an illustrious statesman in the *Nineteenth Century* for November, 1885. Every one who has read the article in question will admire the eloquence, and appreciate the breadth and justness of view, by which in general it is characterised; but its special constructive parts, if examined, will be seen to be open to the same objections which are alluded to in the text. The water-population, for instance, *synchronizes* with the air-population in Genesis, while in actual fact it precedes it by an indefinite interval of time, being accompanied from the beginning by either marine or land vegetation.

Recognising these facts, many theologians of the present day are satisfied with establishing what is termed by Zöckler,¹ an "ideal harmony," *i.e.* a harmony not extending to details, but limited to salient features.² No other reconciliation is, under the circumstances, possible. At the same time those who accept this solution do not always appear to perceive that it involves really an abandonment of the position for which the harmonists have throughout contended. Yet this result clearly follows. If the relative priority of plants and animals, or the period at which the sun and moon were formed, are amongst the details on which harmony cannot be established, what other statement can claim acceptance on the ground that it forms part of the narrative of Genesis? Commentators and apologists are justified in directing the reader's mind either to the broader truths of physical fact, or to the permanent truths of theology, which the narrative enunciates; but they ought not, in doing this, to conceal from him the grave discrepancies in detail which it at the same time exhibits.³

What then may we suppose to be the source of the cosmogony in Genesis? In answering this question we must bear in mind the position which the Hebrews took among the nations of antiquity. In the possession of aptitudes fitting them in a peculiar measure to become the organ and channel of revelation, the Hebrew nation differed radically from its neighbours; but it was allied to them in language, it shared with them many of the same institu-

¹ In his *Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft* (1877-9), the most elaborate work on the subject which exists. See vol. ii. pp. 538, 540 f.; or (more briefly), in his article *Schöpfung*, in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, ed. 2, vol. xiii. (1884), p. 648.

² Comp. Mr. (now Dean) Perowne, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. (1863), p. 673 b; Delitzsch, *Commentar über die Genesis*, ed. 4 (1872), p. 72.

³ These, in many commentaries, are not brought into adequate relief. Luthardt, *Lectures on the Fundamental Truths of Christianity*, pp. 102-4, insinuates but does not show, that the conclusions of geology, on the questions here concerned, are uncertain.

tions, the same ideas and habits of thought. Other nations of antiquity made efforts to fill the void in the past which begins where historical reminiscences cease; and framed theories to account for the beginnings of the earth and man, or to solve the problems which the observation of human nature suggests. It is but consonant with analogy to suppose that the Hebrews either did the same for themselves, or borrowed those of their neighbours. Of the theories current in Assyria and Phœnicia, fragments have been preserved, and these exhibit points of resemblance with the Biblical narrative sufficient to warrant the inference that both are derived from the same cycle of tradition. Here are three fragments from the "Creation Tablets," belonging to the library of Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.), discovered by the late George Smith:—

"When as yet the heavens above had not declared,
Nor the earth beneath had recorded a name,
The august ocean was their generator,
The surging deep was she that bare them all,
The waters thereof embraced one another and united,
But darkness was not yet withdrawn, nor had vegetation sprung forth.

"When of the gods none yet had issued forth,
Or recorded a name, or [fixed] a destiny,
Then were the [great] gods formed.
The gods Lachmu and Lachamu proceeded forth.

"He made beautiful the dwellings¹ of the great gods.
The stars, likewise, he caused . . . come forth:
He ordained the year, established for it decades,
Brought forth the twelve months each with three stars.

"When the gods in their assembly formed . . .
They made beautiful the mighty [trees?],
And caused living beings to come forth . . . "2

¹ Or, stations.

² Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.* (Eng. Trans., 1885), on Gen. i. Some of the names here given are confirmed by the testimony of Damascius, who wrote in Greek, and there is a general agreement in outline with the view of the Babylonian cosmogony presented by Berosus (3rd cent. B.C.). See also Sayce's *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 27.

From a theological point of view, this is different enough from the Biblical record; at the same time, side by side with the difference, there are material resemblances which cannot be mistaken. We have, for instance, the same idea of a surging chaos, reduced gradually to order, the same view of the appointment of years and seasons, and of the formation subsequently of living creatures. Similarly, the Phœnician traditions, which were translated into Greek by Philo of Byblus, and are preserved to us in their Greek form by Eusebius,¹ describe the origin of different institutions and inventions, in a style which at once recalls that of the latter part of the fourth chapter of Genesis. In the light of these facts it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Biblical narrative is drawn from the same source as these other records. The Biblical historians, it is plain, derived their materials from the best human sources available; the function of inspiration was to guide them in the disposal and arrangement of these materials, and in the use to which they applied them. The materials, which with other nations were combined into the crudest physical theories, or associated with a grotesque polytheism, were vivified and transformed by the inspired genius of the Hebrew historians, and adapted to become the vehicle of profound religious truth. They become *symbolic* pictures of the prehistoric past. By a figurative narrative, based, it is probable, upon materials derived from the far East, the *fact* of the Fall of man is brought home to every one of us.²

¹ *Præp. Evang.*, i. 10. Comp. the translation and notes in Lenormant's *Origines de l'histoire* (1880), vol. i. pp. 536 ff.

² Compare Lenormant, *ubi. sup.* vol. i. Preface, *passim*, pp. 97-8, 106-8, 260-1; and especially vol. ii. pp. 263-9, where the same view is defended. Thus, "Plus j'étudie les premiers chapitres de la Genèse avec l'attention et le respect qu'ils imposent au chrétien . . . plus je suis convaincu que les récits qu'ils contiennent sont essentiellement allégoriques, et qu'en les prenant au sens directement matériel on s'écarte de la pensée de leurs auteurs." Again, "Maintenant, que ces allégories aient été fournies aux écrivains inspirés par une tradition populaire, qui s'était formée spontanément dans le cours des siècles,

The character of Cain, borrowed from popular tradition, is made a lesson and warning to all time. Behind the first chapter of Genesis lies a history which we may suspect, but cannot demonstrate. As we read it, it is the result of mature theological reflection, operating, as we seemed forced to suppose, upon elements derived from human sources, but breathing into them a new spirit, and not different in character from the reflection which, for instance, is evident in the Epistles of St. Paul. That the cosmogony may display besides flashes of the intuition of the prophet is not to be categorically denied; the remark of Dillmann should not be forgotten, that "amongst all ancient cosmogonies that of the Bible approaches most nearly to the conclusions of science." But that it contains a "revelation," in the sense in which this term is commonly understood, as a direct communication of knowledge undiscoverable by human faculties,¹ whether given to the author, or, as others have supposed, handed down by tradition from primitive man, seems to be a position which cannot be maintained. The discrepancies that have been dwelt upon—and which, so far as can be seen, appear irremovable—seem to constitute an indication that the cosmogony of Genesis is not meant to be an authoritative exposition of the past history of the earth, but that it subserves a different purpose altogether. Its purpose is to teach *religious* truth, not scientific truth. With this object in view, its author sets before us a series of *representative pictures*, remarkably suggestive of the reality, if only they be not treated as a "revelation" of it, and embodying theological teaching of permanent value. It only remains to indicate briefly the nature of this teaching.

et qui était commune à tous les peuples de l'Asie antérieure, aucune raison de foi, aucune définition faisant loi pour le catholique n'empêche de l'admettre." (Vol. ii. pp. 263 f., 268).

¹ On the distinction between "Revelation" and "Inspiration," see Archdeacon Lee's *Inspiration of Holy Scripture* (ed. 1865), pp. 27 f., 149 f.

(1) It shows in opposition to the conceptions prevalent in antiquity, that the world is not self-originated; that it was called into existence, and brought gradually into its present state, at the will of a spiritual Being, prior to it, independent of it, and deliberately planning every stage of its progress. It is this feature which distinguishes it fundamentally from the Babylonian cosmogony, with which, as we have seen, it bears an external resemblance. The Babylonian scheme is essentially polytheistic; chaos is anterior to Deity; the gods are made, or produced—we know not whence or how.¹ In Genesis, the supremacy of the Creator is absolute; as Ewald long ago finely said: “even chaos was not, without the Spirit of God: already there, as to-day, He was accomplishing His work!”²

(2) Dividing artificially the entire period into six parts, it

¹ The best explanation of the plural form of the Hebrew word for “God,” *Elohim*, seems still to be the old-fashioned “plural of majesty,” or the plural of intensity, in which case (if the derivation from a root signifying *to fear* be accepted) it will express—to adopt the words of Professor C. A. Briggs, in his instructive volume, *Biblical Study* (New York, 1883)—“The fulness of the idea of God conceived as the one to be revered” (p. 53). Those who adduce it as an anticipation of the doctrine of the Trinity appear to forget that this use of the plural *does not stand alone* in Hebrew; the words אֱלֹהִים and בָּעַל, meaning *lord, master*, are often used in the plural with reference to a single human superior (*e.g.* Exod. xxi. 4, 6, 8, 29); and Isaiah (xix. 4), describes the conqueror of Egypt as אֱדֹנֵימ קִשְׁתָּה, where the adj. is singular, but the subst. plural. On the other hand, it is possible, though it cannot be demonstrated, that that doctrine is adumbrated in the 1 pl. of ver. 26 (comp. xi. 7; Isa. vi. 8). Even those, however, who question this explanation, still recognise the plural here as suitable and significant—in Dillmann’s words, “not only on account of the solemnity of the moment, in which God speaks in the supreme consciousness of His majesty, but also because His purpose now is to impart to man a share of the Divine powers which are concentrated in Himself.”

² *Jahrbücher*, vol. i. (1849), p. 83. The statement in the English translation of Keil (p. 46), that Ewald’s construction of ver. 1-3 “is invented for the simple purpose of getting rid of the doctrine of a *creatio ex nihilo*,” is false. In the article referred to, in which Ewald advocates it, he distinctly states (p. 82) that “the true religion must always maintain the original dependence of matter upon God, and in consequence its creation.” In his *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, vol. iii. (1874), p. 43, he expresses himself still more strongly to the same effect, adding that the maxim *Ex nihilo nihil fit* is valid only within the limits of human experience. The remark is omitted in Keil’s third (1878) German edition.

notices in order the most prominent cosmical phenomena, and groups the living creatures upon the earth under the great subdivisions which appeal to the eye. By this method it exhibits an *ideal picture* of the successive stages by which the earth was formed and peopled with its living inhabitants; and it insists that each of these stages is no product of chance, or of mere mechanical forces, but is an act of the Divine will,¹ realizes the Divine purpose, and receives the seal of the Divine approval. It is uniformly silent on the secondary causes through which in particular cases or even universally the effects described may have been developed or produced, it leaves these for the investigation of science; it teaches *what science as such cannot discover* (for it is not its province to do so), the relation in which they stand to God. The slow formation of the earth, as taught by geology, the gradual development of species made probable by modern biology, is but the exhibition in detail of those processes which the author of this cosmogony sums up into a single phrase and apparently compresses into a single moment, for the purpose of declaring their dependence on the Divine will.²

(3) It insists on the distinctive pre-eminence belonging to man, implied in the remarkable self-deliberation taken in his case by the Creator, and signified expressly in the phrase, "image of God," by which doubtless is meant the

¹ The repeated "And God said," should be observed. "It gives clear and exact expression to the truth that the Divine thought is realized in each stage of the work, not through the operation of any principle of necessity, or by a process of unconscious emanation, but by the free determination of the Divine will" (Riehm, *Der Biblische Schöpfungsbericht*, Halle, 1881, p. 22—a lecture pointing out the theological value, at the present day, of the narrative of Genesis).

² The appropriateness of the "day," rather than of some protracted period, for the purpose contemplated by the narrator, is well brought out by Dillmann (p. 21). Periods of thousands or millions of years, he remarks, are in their place in a treatise on natural science, because this is essentially concerned with the gradual operation of secondary causes; where the sole object is to exhibit clearly and forcibly the operation of the Divine causality, the shorter period is equally adequate, and more expressive.

possession by man of *self-conscious reason*—an adumbration, we may suppose, however faint, of the supreme mind of God—enabling him to *know*, in a sense in which animals do not know, and involving the capacity of apprehending moral and religious truth.

The conclusions on the scientific issue which have been expressed in the present article, have been arrived at by the writer independently; but they can lay no claim to novelty. More than twenty years ago, to name but a single instance, substantially the same judgment was pronounced, in a well-known work, by an English scholar who is not less distinguished as a theologian than as a Hebraist.¹ More recently Dr. Reusch, Roman Catholic Professor at Bonn, has arrived at similar results.² After reviewing with great fairness the different theories of reconciliation, and conceding in favour of each the utmost latitude of interpretation, he is compelled ultimately to admit that they all fail, and holding strongly the opinion that it does not lie within the scope of the Bible to impart secular knowledge, adopts ultimately the view that the six days denote not six successive periods, but “six logically separable ‘moments,’ or phases, of the creative process, six Divine thoughts or ideas realized in creation.” The chronological succession, which, nevertheless, is a material feature in the representation of Genesis, is thus abandoned as untenable. The efforts of the harmonists have been praiseworthy, and well-meaning, but they have resulted only in the construction of artificial schemes, the unreality of which is at once detected by the scientific mind, and creates a prejudice against the entire system with which the cosmogony is connected. The

¹ *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 673 b: “. . . What we ought to maintain is that no reconciliation [of the six days with geological periods] is necessary. It is certain that the author of the first chapter of Genesis, whether Moses or some one else, knew nothing of geology or astronomy . . . It is also certain that the Bible was never intended to reveal to us knowledge of which our faculties rightly used could put us in possession.”

² *Bibel und Natur* (ed. 4, 1876), pp. 136 f., 256 f., 260-3.

cosmogony of Genesis is treated in popular estimation as an integral element of the Christian faith. It cannot be too earnestly represented that this is not the case. A definition of the process by which, after it was created, the world assumed its present condition, forms no element in the Christian creed. The Church has never pronounced with authority upon the interpretation of the narrative of Genesis. It is our duty to eradicate popular illusions, and to teach *both* that the cosmogony of Genesis does not accord with the results established by science, *and* that the recognition of this fact is no invasion of sacred ground, and in no degree imperils the Christian revelation.¹ There are many whose minds are acute enough to discover the truth of the first of these propositions, but who do not with equal clearness perceive the truth of the second. It is a law of psychology that ideas which have been long associated are apt to become actually inseparable. For this very reason our teaching should be the more explicit; we should distinguish between what can, and what cannot, be claimed for the Biblical narrative; we should maintain upon positive grounds, rather than as a concession extorted from us, its true position and value. We should show that it is its office neither to anticipate scientific discovery, nor to define the lines of scientific research. It neither comes into collision with science, nor needs reconciliation with it; its office lies in a different plane altogether; it is to present, under a form impressive to the imagination, adapted to the needs of all time, and containing no feature unworthy of the dignity of its subject,¹ a truthful *representative picture* of the relation of the world to God.

S. R. DRIVER.

¹ Comp. Dillmann, *Die Genesis erklärt* (1882), p. 10, whose notes on this chapter are remarkably appreciative and just.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

XII.

THE BANE AND THE ANTIDOTE.

“Take heed lest there shall be any one that maketh spoil of you through his philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ: for in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in Him ye are made full, who is the head of all principality and power.”—COL. ii. 8, 9, 10 (Rev. Ver.).

WE come now to the first plain reference to the errors which were threatening the peace of the Colossian community. Here Paul crosses swords with the foe. This is the point to which all his previous words have been steadily converging. The immediately preceding context contained the positive exhortation to continue in the Christ whom they had received, having been rooted in Him as the tree in a fertile place “by the rivers of water,” and being continually builded up in Him, with ever-growing completeness of holy character. The same exhortation in substance is contained in the verses which we have now to consider, with the difference that it is here presented negatively, as warning and dehortation, with distinct statement of the danger which would uproot the tree and throw down the building, and drag them away from union with Christ.

In these words the Bane and Antidote are both before us. Let us consider each.

I. *The Poison* against which Paul warns the Colossians is plainly described in our first verse, the terms of which may require a brief comment.

“*Take heed lest there shall be.*” The construction implies that it is a real and not a hypothetical danger which he sees threatening. He is not crying “wolf” before there is need.

“*Any one*”—perhaps the tone of the warning would be better conveyed if we read the more familiar “somebody”; as if he had said—“I name no names—it is not the persons but the principles that I fight against—but you know whom I mean well enough. Let him be anonymous, you understand who it is.” Perhaps there was even a single “somebody” who was the centre of the mischief.

“*That maketh spoil of you.*” Such is the full meaning of the word—and not “injure” or “rob,” which the translation in the Authorized Version suggests to an English reader. Paul sees the converts in Colossæ taken prisoners and led away with a cord round their necks, like the long strings of captives on the Assyrian monuments. He had spoken in the previous chapter (ver. 13) of the merciful conqueror who had “translated” them from the realm of darkness into a kingdom of light, and now he fears lest a robber horde, making a raid upon the peaceful colonists in their happy new homes, may sweep them away again into bondage. And the instrument which the man-stealer uses, or perhaps we may say, the cord, whose fatal noose will be tightened round them, if they do not take care, is “*philosophy and vain deceit.*”

If Paul had been writing in English, he would have put “philosophy” in inverted commas, to show that he was quoting the heretical teachers’ own name for their system, if system it may be called, which was really a chaos. For the true love of wisdom, for any honest, humble attempt to seek after her as hid treasure, neither Paul nor Paul’s master have anything but praise and sympathy and help. Where he met real, however imperfect, searchers after truth, he strove to find points of contact between them and his message, and to present the Gospel as the answer to their questionings, the declaration of that which they were groping to find. The thing spoken of here has no resemblance but in name to what the Greeks in their better days

first called philosophy, and nothing but that mere coincidence warrants the representation—often made both by narrow-minded Christians, and by unbelieving seekers—that Christianity takes up a position of antagonism or suspicion to it.

The form of the expression in the original shows clearly that “vain deceit,” or more literally “empty deceit,” describes the “philosophy” which Paul is bidding them beware of. They are not two things, but one. It is like a blown bladder, full of wind, and nothing else. In its lofty pretensions, and, if we take its own account of itself, it is a love of and search after wisdom, but if we look at it more closely, it is a swollen nothing, empty and a fraud. This is what he is condemning. The genuine thing he has nothing to say about here.

He goes on to describe more closely this impostor, masquerading in the philosopher’s cloak. It is “*after the traditions of men.*” We have seen in a former paper what a strange heterogeneous conglomerate of Jewish ceremonial and Oriental dreams the false teachers in Colossæ were preaching. Probably both these elements are included here. It is significant that the very expression, “the traditions of men,” is a word of Christ’s, applied to the Pharisees, whom He charges with “leaving the commandment of God, and holding fast the tradition of men” (Mark vii. 8). The portentous undergrowth of such “traditions” which, like the riotous fertility of creepers in a tropical forest, smothers and kills the trees round which it twines, is preserved for our wonder and warning in the Talmud, where for thousands and thousands of pages, we get nothing but Rabbi So and So said this, but Rabbi So and So said that; until we feel stifled, and long for one Divine Word to still all the babble.

The Oriental element in the heresy, on the other hand prided itself on hidden teaching too sacred to be entrusted

to books, and passed from lip to lip in some close conclave of muttering teachers and listening adepts. The fact that all this, be it Jewish, be it Oriental teaching, had no higher source than men's imaginings and refinings, seems to Paul the condemnation of the whole system. His theory is that in Jesus Christ, every Christian man has the full truth concerning God, and man, their mutual relations, the authoritative Divine declaration of all that can be known, the perfect exemplar of all that ought to be done, the sun-clear illumination and proof of all that dare be hoped. What an absurd descent, then, from the highest of our prerogatives, to "turn away from Him that speaketh from heaven," in order to listen to poor human voices, speaking men's thoughts!

The lesson is as needful to-day as ever. The special forms of men's traditions in question here have long since fallen silent, and trouble no man any more. But the tendency to give heed to human teachers and to suffer them to come between us and Christ is deep in us all. There is at one extreme the man who believes in no revelation from God, and, smiling at us Christians, who accept Christ's words as final, and Himself as the Incarnate truth, often pays to his chosen human teacher a deference as absolute as that which he regards as superstition, when we render it to our Lord. At the other extremity, are the Christians who will not let Christ and the Scripture speak to the soul unless the Church be present at the interview, like a jailer, with a bunch of man-made creeds jingling at its belt. But it is not only at the two ends of the line, but all along its length, that men are listening to "traditions" of men and neglecting "the commandment of God." We have all the same tendency in us. Every man carries a rationalist and a traditionalist under his skin. Every Church in Christendom, whether it has a formal creed or no, is ruled as to its belief and practice, to a sad extent, by the "traditions of the

elders." The freest of the Nonconformist Churches, untrammelled by any formal confession, may be bound with as tight fetters, and be as much dominated by men's opinions, as if it had the straitest of creeds. The mass of our religious beliefs and practices have ever to be verified, corrected and remodelled, by harking back from creeds, written or unwritten, to the one Teacher, the endless significance of whose person and work is but expressed in fragments by the purest and widest thoughts even of those who have lived nearest to Him, and seen most of His beauty. Let us get away from men, from the Babel of opinions and the strife of tongues, that we may "hear the words of His mouth!" Let us take heed of the empty fraud which lays the absurd snare for our feet, that we can learn to know God by any means but by listening to His own speech in His Eternal Word, lest it lead us away captive out of the Kingdom of the Light! Let us go up to the pure spring on the mountain top, and not try to slake our thirst at the muddy pools at its base! "Ye are Christ's, be not the slave of men." "This is My beloved Son, hear ye Him."

Another mark of this empty pretence of wisdom which threatens to captivate the Colossians is, that it is "*after the rudiments of the world.*" The word rendered "rudiments" means the letters of the alphabet, and hence comes naturally to acquire the meaning of "elements," or "first principles," just as we speak of the A B C of a science. The application of such a designation to the false teaching is, like the appropriation of the term "mystery" to the Gospel, an instance of turning the tables and giving back the teachers their own words. They boasted of mysterious doctrines reserved for the initiated, of which the plain truths that Paul preached were but the elements, and they looked down contemptuously on his message as "milk for babes." Paul retorts on them, asserting that the true

mystery, the profound truth long hidden and revealed, is the word which he preached, and that the poverty-stricken elements, fit only for infants, are in that swelling inanity which called itself wisdom and was not. Not only does he brand it as "rudiments," but as "rudiments of the *world*," which is worse—that is to say, as belonging to the sphere of the outward and material, and not to the higher region of the spiritual, where Christian thought ought to dwell. So two weaknesses are charged against the system: it is the mere alphabet of truth, and therefore unfit for grown men. It moves, for all its lofty pretensions, in the region of the visible and mundane things, and is therefore unfit for spiritual men. What features of the system are referred to in this phrase? The expression in the Epistle to the Galatians (iv. 3), as a synonyme for the whole system of ritual observances and ceremonial precepts of Judaism, and the context here, which passes on immediately to speak of circumcision, point to a similar meaning, though we may include also the ceremonial and ritual of the Gentile religions, in so far as they contributed to the outward forms which the Colossian heresy sought to impose on the Church. This then is Paul's opinion about a system which laid stress on ceremonial and busied itself with forms. He regards it as a deliberate retrogression to an earlier stage. A religion of rites had come first, and was needed for the spiritual infancy of the race—but in Christ we ought to have outgrown the alphabet of revelation, and, being men, to have put away childish things. He regards it further as a pitiable descent into a lower sphere, a fall from the spiritual realm to the material, and therefore unbecoming for men who have been enfranchised from dependence upon outward helps and symbols, and taught the spirituality and inwardness of Christian worship.

We need the lesson in this day no less than did these Christians in the little community in that remote valley of

Phrygia. The forms which were urged on them are long since antiquated, but the tendency to turn Christianity into a religion of ceremonial is running with an unusually powerful current to-day. We are all more interested in art, and think we know more about it than our fathers did. The eye and the ear are more educated than they used to be, and a society as "æsthetic" and "musical" as much cultured English society is becoming, will like an ornate ritual. So, apart altogether from doctrinal grounds, much in the conditions of to-day works towards ritual religion. Nonconformist services are less plain; some go from their ranks because they dislike the "bald" worship in the chapel, and prefer the more elaborate forms of the Anglican Church, which in its turn is for the same reason left by others who find their tastes gratified by the complete thing, as it is to be enjoyed full blown in the Roman Catholic communion. We may freely admit that the Puritan re-action was possibly too severe, and that a little more colour and form might with advantage have been retained. But enlisting the senses as the allies of the spirit in worship is risky work. They are very apt to fight for their own hand when they once begin, and the history of all symbolic and ceremonial worship shows that the experiment is much more likely to end in sensualising religion than in spiritualising sense. The theory that such aids make a ladder by which the soul may ascend to God is perilously apt to be confuted by experience, which finds that the soul never gets above the steps of the ladder. The gratification of taste, and the excitation of æsthetic sensibility, which is the result of such aids to worship, is not worship, however it may be mistaken as such. All ceremonial is in danger of becoming opaque instead of transparent as it was meant to be, and of detaining mind and eye instead of letting them pass on and up to God. Stained glass is lovely, and whi

windows are "barnlike," and "starved" and "bare"; but perhaps, if the object is to get light and to see the sun, these solemn purples and glowing yellows are rather in the way. I for my part believe that of the two extremes, a Quaker's meeting is nearer the ideal of Christian worship than High Mass, and so far as my feeble voice can reach, I would urge as eminently a lesson for the day Paul's great principle here, that a Christianity making much of forms and ceremonies is a distinct retrogression, and a distinct descent. You are men in Christ, do not go back to the picture book A B C of symbol and ceremony, which was fit for babes. You have been brought in to the inner sanctuary of worship in spirit; do not decline to the beggarly elements of outward forms.

Paul sums up his indictment in one damning clause, the result of the two before. If the heresy has no higher source than men's traditions, and no more solid contents than ceremonial observances, it cannot be "after Christ." He is neither its origin, nor its substance, nor its rule and standard. There is a fundamental discord between every such system, however it may call itself Christian, and Christ. The opposition may be concealed by its teachers. They and their victims may not be aware of it. They may not themselves be conscious that by adopting it they have slipped off the foundation; but they have, and if in their own hearts they are loyal to Him, they have brought an incurable discord into their creeds which will weaken their lives, if it does not do worse. Paul cared very little for the dreams of these men, except in so far as they carried them and others away from his Master. They might have as many ceremonies as they liked, and welcome; but when these interfered with the sole reliance to be placed on Christ's work, then they must have no quarter. It is not because the teaching was "after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world," but because

being so, it was "not after Christ," that Paul will have none of it. He that touches his Master touches the apple of his eye, and shades of opinion, and things indifferent in practice, and otherwise unimportant elaborateness of forms of worship, have to be fought to the death if they obscure one corner of the perfect and solitary work of the One Lord, who is at once the source, the substance, and the standard of all Christian teaching.

II. *The Antidote.*—"For in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in Him ye are made full, who is the head of all principality and power."

These words may be a reason for the warning—"Take heed, *for*"; or they may be a reason for the implied exclusion of any teaching which is not after Christ. The statement of its characteristics carries in itself its condemnation. Anything "not after Christ" is *ipso facto* wrong, and to be avoided—"for" etc. "In Him" is placed with emphasis at the beginning, and implies "and nowhere else." "Dwelleth" that is, has its permanent abode; where the tense is to be noticed also, as pointing to the ascended Christ. "All the fulness of the Godhead," that is, the whole unbounded powers and attributes of Deity, where observe the use of the abstract term Godhead, instead of the more usual God, in order to express with the utmost force the thought of the indwelling in Christ of the whole essence and nature of God. "Bodily," that points to the Incarnation, and is an advance upon the passage in the former chapter (ver. 19), which speaks of "the fulness" dwelling in the Eternal Word, whereas this speaks of the Eternal Word in whom the fulness dwelt becoming flesh. So we are pointed to the glorified corporeal humanity of Jesus Christ in His exaltation as the abode, now and for ever, of all the fulness of the Divine nature, which is thereby brought very near to us. This grand truth seems to Paul to

'shiver to pieces all the dreams of these teachers about angel mediators, and to brand as folly every attempt to learn truth and God anywhere else but in Him.

† If He be the one sole temple of Deity in whom all Divine glories are stored, why go anywhere else in order to see or to possess God? It is folly; for not only are all these glories stored in Him, but they are so stored on purpose to be reached and possessed by us. Therefore the Apostle goes on, "and in Him ye are made full;" which sets forth two things as true in the inward life of all Christians, namely, their living incorporation in and union with Christ, and their consequent participation in His fulness. Every one of us may enter into that most real and close union with Jesus Christ by the power of continuous faith in Him. So may we be grafted into the Vine, and builded into the Rock. If thus we keep our hearts in contact with His heart, and let Him lay His lip on our lips, He will breathe into us the breath of His own life, and we shall live because He lives, and in our measure, as He lives. All the fulness of God is in Him, that from Him it may pass into us. We might start back from such bold words if we did not remember that the same apostle who here tells us that that fulness dwells in Jesus, crowns his wonderful prayer for the Ephesian Christians with that daring petition, "that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God." The treasure was lodged in the earthen vessel of Christ's manhood that it might be within our reach. He brings the fiery blessing of a Divine life from Heaven to earth enclosed in the feeble reed of His manhood, that it may kindle kindred fires in many a heart. Freely the water of life flows unto all cisterns from the ever fresh stream into which the infinite depth of that unfathomable sea of good pours itself. Every kind of spiritual blessing is given therein. That stream, like a river of molten lava, holds many

precious things in its flaming current, and will cool into many shapes and deposit many rare and rich gifts. According to our need it will shape itself, being to each what the moment most requires,—wisdom, or strength, or beauty, or courage, or patience. Out of it will come whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, as Rabbinical legends tell us that the manna tasted to each man like the food he wished for most.

This process of receiving of all the Divine fulness is a continuous one. We can but be approximating to the possession of the infinite treasure which is ours in Christ, and since the treasure is infinite, and we can indefinitely grow in capacity of receiving God, there must be an eternal continuance of the filling and an eternal increase of the measure of what fills us. Our natures are elastic, and in love and knowledge, as well as in purity and capacity for blessedness, there are no bounds to be set to their possible expansion. They will be widened by bliss into a greater capacity for bliss. The indwelling Christ will “enlarge the place of His habitation,” and as the walls stretch and the roofs soar, He will fill the greater house with the light of His presence, and the fragrance of His name. The condition of this continuous reception of the abundant gift of a Divine life is abiding in Jesus. It is “in Him” that we are being “being filled full”—and only so long as we continue in Him that we continue full. We cannot bear away our supplies, as one might a full bucket from a well, and keep it full. All the grace will trickle out and disappear unless we live in constant union with our Lord, whose Spirit passes into our deadness only so long as we are joined to Him.

From all such thoughts Paul would have us draw the conclusion—how foolish, then, it must be to go to any other source for the supply of our needs! Christ is “the head of all principality and power,” he adds, with a

reference to the doctrine of angel mediators, which evidently played a great part in the heretical teaching. If He is sovereign head of all dignity and power on earth and heaven, why go to the ministers, when we have access to the King; or have recourse to erring human teachers, when we have the Eternal Word to enlighten us; or flee to creatures to replenish our emptiness, when we may draw from the depths of God in Christ?

Why should we go on a weary search after goodly pearls when the richest of all is by us, if we will have it? Do we seek to know God? Behold Christ, and let men talk as they list. Do we crave a stay for our spirit, guidance and impulse for our lives? Let us cleave to Christ, and we shall be no more lonely and bewildered. Do we need a quieting balm to be laid on conscience, and a sense of guilt to be lifted from our hearts? Let us lay our hands on Christ, the one sacrifice, and leave all other altars and priests and ceremonies. Do we look longingly for some light on the future? Let us stedfastly gaze on Christ as He rises to heaven bearing a human body into the glory of God. Though all the earth were covered with helpers and lovers of my soul, "as the sand by the sea shore innumerable," and all the heavens were sown with angel faces who cared for me and succoured me, thick as the stars in the milky way,—all could not do for me what I need. Yea, though all these were gathered into one mighty and loving creature, even he were no sufficient stay for one soul of man. We want more than creature help. We need the whole fulness of the Godhead to draw from. It is all there in Christ, for each of us. Whosoever will, let him draw freely. Why should we leave the fountain of living waters to hew out for ourselves, with infinite pains, broken cisterns that can hold no water? All we need is in Christ. Let us lift our eyes from the low earth and all creatures, and behold

“no man any more,” as Lord and Helper, “save Jesus only,” “that we may be filled with all the fulness of God.”

ALEXANDER MACLAREN.

THE BIBLE AND WINE.

As I was sitting last year, engaged in familiar converse with a friend, in a vine arbour near to the bank of the glorious German Rhine—I with a glass of beer beside me, he with a bottle of the generous growth of his home land, which I had ordered for him as my guest—I exclaimed in a little burst of enthusiasm, “Is it not so? Just as this view of the Rhine charms us both, so the Jordan once laved the roots of Christianity not less than those of Judaism; for through the Jordan, Israel coming out of Egypt entered into Canaan; and through the Jordan, too, Jesus passed after He had returned out of Egypt, in order, accompanied by His disciples, to traverse the Holy Land as a Preacher of the kingdom of Heaven.” When I observed that this parallel did not indeed repel my friend, but yet startled him, I gave a more inoffensive turn to the discourse, and said: “Well, then, in one thing contradiction is impossible, namely, in this, that as we two are sitting under one and the same arbour encircled with vine branches, so the Old Testament and the New Testament Scriptures are equally inwrought with figures of wine, vines, vineyards and vine-culture. Though the two may differ in many respects, yet as regards wine they are one. They resemble an arbour whose foreground and whose background is covered with tendrils, is fragrant of the vine. Upon this we will touch. The subject is worthy of it.

In vino veritas
Atque sinceritas.

Quidquid latebit
Mox apparebit.

In wine is verity
And sheer sincerity.

Whate'er lies concealed
Shall soon be revealed.

With this reminiscence of the Middle Rhine I introduce my present talk.

The Rhine country was not always a wine country; Palestine, which is called by way of endearment, the gladsome land (*Wonneland*), was from of old a wine land. Then when the worthy Roman emperor Probus, from 276, took a deep interest in the culture of the soil, in the conquered lands also, and naturalised the cultivation of the vine upon the Rhine, the vine-culture on the Jordan had already received some heavy blows; for the wars of liberation against the Romans, of which the first ended in the year 72 with the destruction of Jerusalem, and the second in 135 with the exclusion of the Jews from the restored city of Jerusalem, had left the fertile vine tracts for the most part uncultivated and desolate. The Jewish city was transformed by Hadrian into a heathen city, and then by Constantine into a Christian one. But since, in the year 637, it became a Moslem city, and the whole land even to Lebanon fell into the possession of Moslem rulers, the cultivation of the vine has fallen into entire desuetude on account of the prohibition by the Koran of the use of wine. The establishment of a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem on the part of the Crusaders made but little difference in this respect, for the vine is—as called by the prophet Zechariah (viii. 12)—a “plant of peace;” the cultivation of the vine demands peace even more, in comparison, than the cultivation of the land; the Christian dominion, however, was maintained only in constant readiness for war, without assured peace. And now, since the Osmanlis obtained possession of Palestine in 1517, the Holy Land has sunk down, under the indolence and mismanagement of its potentates, to a slag of its ancient fertility, and there is found now in the attention paid to the growth by Jewish and Christian cultivators only a remnant of the once magnificent and famous vine husbandry of Palestine.

There was a time when the mountains of the Holy Land, and specially of Judæa, were cultivated in terraces far up their sides; so that the singer of Psalm lxxii., in view of the Salomonian time of peace, can wish without exaggeration, "May there be an abundance of corn in the land unto the top of the mountains, may its fruit wave as Lebanon." And Isaiah, comparing the disappointed expectation of the God of Israel to the disappointed expectation of a vine-dresser, strikes up like a wandering minstrel the song (chap. v.): "Up, I will sing of my Wellbeloved [the wellbeloved of the prophet is his God], a song of my Beloved touching His vineyard. A vineyard had my Beloved upon a mountain-horn, the son of fatness. And He made a trench about it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with a precious vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and hewed out also a winepress therein, and He hoped for the grape-bearing, and—it brought forth wild grapes." The mountain-horn was a son of fatness; *i.e.* fatness was inborn in it, namely the fatness of a fruitful soil. The *humus*, the cultivable earth, had not first with toil to be carried up to it, but was proper to it by nature. Where should we now find in Palestine such a mountain-height with piled up solid layer of mould? In Palestine at least there is none. The mountains are bare and stony, and where they are covered with trees and bushes, this brushwood hardly deserves the name of a forest—even in the valleys and plains we miss the humus-soil; meadows like our meadows are nowhere to be found save on the heights of Lebanon, and even Sharon and Jezreel, the lauded plains between sea and mountain chain, have—as Fraas, the geologist among the Palestine explorers, assures us—only the character of a vegetation of the steppes, rich in herbage and enchanting by its wealth of colours; the foot treads, between the herbs and flowers, not upon fertile earth, but upon naked, sandy, or clayey, or otherwise mineral soil.

This was not so at one time. As the Sinaitic peninsula, when the children of Israel after their departure from Egypt journeyed in it for forty years, was not as yet, to the same extent, the dismal wilderness it afterwards became, so Palestine in olden time long enjoyed an alternation of the seasons more favourable than at present to the formation of a prolific soil; it was, as Moses describes it in the Book of Deuteronomy, “a good land, a land of water brooks, fountains, veins of water gushing forth in valley and in hill; a land of wheat and of barley, and of the vine, and the fig tree, and the pomegranate; a land of the choice¹ olive tree and of honey; a land wherein thou mayest eat thy bread without scantiness.” If we take a survey of the contents of Holy Scripture, with an open eye for the natural beauty of the theatre of its events, then we have before us on the right hand and on the left—from the oasis of Engedi by the Dead Sea, right away to Lebanon, and from Hebron away to the south-west into the Jewish South District,² and farther north from the plain of Jezreël, away beyond the Carmel headland—the silver-green olive plantations and the dark green fig-tree plantations, and smiling vine tracts. A good part of this glory remained till the first century of our era, and something of it has lingered even to the present. Josephus boasts that by the Lake Gennesar you might pluck ripe grapes and figs (he calls these two the kings among the fruits) for ten months out of the year. And where the cultivation of the vine is pursued in the present day, as is the case in Hebron and the Lebanon, it is seen how gigantic the productive power of nature is there. The missionary Stephen Schultz relates that there are clusters of grapes weighing as much as twelve pounds, with berries of the size of plums; and in the southern Lebanon he came upon a vine thirty feet high, whose branches presented a foliage of more than fifty feet long and broad.

¹ As opposed to the merely *wild* olive.

² Daroma, Negeb.

So greatly did the land abound in wine in olden days, specially Judæa, that, as is said in the language of prophetic poetic imagery, men washed their garments in wine as in water, and without anxiously guarding against damage, one bound his riding-beast to the noblest vine, in place of a stake. Olive, fig tree, vine are the ancient emblems of the Land of Israel. In the fable which Jotham relates to the Shechemites, to warn them against the government of the fratricide Abimelech, the trees go forth to anoint for themselves a king. They repair first to the olive, which, as the producer of the anointing oil, seems to be first pointed out for the office; then to the fig tree, whose umbrageous crown resembles a royal canopy; and then to the vine, which is rather a shrub than a tree, and loves to entwine itself in its growth about the stem of the fig tree, but the vine too answers with a refusal: "Should I leave my juice¹ which gladdens gods and men, and go to sway to and fro over the trees?" It is a standing figure of prosperous peace, that every one sits under the shadow of his vine and of his fig tree. Depicting the future age of freedom and of peace, the prophet Zechariah exclaims: "How great its pleasantness and its beauty! Corn makes the young men to bloom, and new wine the maids;" *i.e.* the young men thrive on the nourishing bread-fare of the land, and the soft sweet juice of the grape sheds a youthful freshness over maiden cheeks. And in the Song of Songs, in which all that is most glorious in the vegetable world is combined, as in the *Isola bella* of the *Lago Maggiore*, the vine stands at the head. Solomon's only beloved has a bronzed visage, because the severe brothers have made her the guardian of a vineyard, and visiting her home at the foot of the Lesser Hermon, leaning on Solomon's arm, she hints to the king, in a figure taken from his vineyard at Baalhamon, that he is not to leave without a present—as he gave presents to the guardians of

¹ *Tirosh*, must, new wine.

this vineyard—the guardians of her vineyard, *i.e.* of her virginity, namely her brothers; and in the interval we hear how, before she is taken to her new home, visited by the king, and called upon to let her voice be heard, she pours forth a lay of the vineyard :

“ Behold with fragrant blossoms adorned
Stands the vineyard, already the grapes begin to form ;
Up then and take the foxes, the little ones,
That they spoil not for us the fair vineyard.”

The development of the vine-blossom, which in Hebrew bears the beautiful name of *semadar*, appears thrice in the Song of Songs as the sign of spring; all who have ever visited a vineyard in the time of bloom (with us, end of May), have been ravished with the incomparable fragrance.

Apart from the Feast of the Vintage, other national festivals, too, were held by preference in the vineyards. As Israel's history has its Iphigenia in the daughter of Jephthah, who falls a victim to a vow, so has it likewise a counterpart to the Rape of the Sabines in the carrying off of the daughters of Shiloh. When the tribe of Benjamin had been brought down to a pitiful remnant, through the war of revenge waged against it by the other tribes, and the members of the other tribes had bound themselves by an oath not to suffer their daughters to wed with Benjamites, a national festival which was observed annually in Shiloh afforded a way of escape out of the difficulty; the young maidens of Shiloh held there the circular dances, and the Benjamites broke forth from the vineyards and carried off for themselves wives from among them, with the tacit permission of the elders. And even in the Herodian period there were associated with the 15th Ab (concluding day of the cutting of the sacrificial wood) and the 10th Tishri (Day of Atonement) for the whole populace of Jerusalem two unique forms of diversion; for on these days the maidens went forth, attired in white garments, which even the richest had

borrowed in order not to put the poor to shame, into the surrounding vineyards, and danced there, and sang sportively provoking songs, addressed to the youths who had gathered as spectators.

It is noteworthy that the winged word, "Wine maketh glad the heart of man," is found in the Psalter, and indeed in Ps. civ., which is a song of praise to God the Creator. The interest of Holy Scripture in the world of nature is not called forth merely by the sensuous charm of the beautiful in nature, not merely by the enjoyment afforded by such natural objects as food and drink, but it is before everything a religious interest; it sees in the things of nature incorporated thoughts of God, copies in this world from archetypes in the world beyond, miracles of creative omnipotence and wisdom, gifts of the heavenly love. The joyous aspect of a glorious vine tract points the spirit up to God the Creator and Giver; and when it is laid waste the sight of this desolation attunes the soul to sadness, something as when a table laden with festive gifts has been overturned and that which sparkled thereon is reduced to fragments. In this sense Isaiah, in his oracle upon Moab, bewails the desolation of the Moabite vine-district by the Assyrian war; the city of Jazer weeps for the devastated vinefields of Sibma, and the prophet weeps and laments with her, that over the luxurious tillage of the Moabite sister cities Heshbon and Elâle there has gone up in place of the *Hedad* (huzza) of the wine-treaders, the *Hedad* (hurrah) of the wildly charging foeman:—

"Therefore I bewail with Jazer's weeping Sibma's vine,
I water thee with my tears, Heshbon and Elâle,
That upon thy summer fruits (fruit-gathering) and upon thy vintage
Hedad is fallen."

Joel's lament, too, over the all-withering drought and the all-consuming swarms of locusts is, above everything, a

mourning with the mourning world of nature, although also over the fact that the sources of nourishment for the world of men and beasts are destroyed, and especially over the fact that the necessary means for the daily service of God are withdrawn: "Cut off is meal offering and drink offering from the house of Jahve; they mourn, the priests, the ministers of Jahve." They mourn, for the presentation of the daily morning and evening sacrifice, which in other cases even amidst the straits of a siege was not omitted, has become impossible, owing to the devastation of the corn and the vines.

The daily morning and evening sacrifice concluded with a libation of wine, in connexion with which the trumpets of the priests and song and music of the Levites resounded, as described in the Book of Ecclesiasticus (and admirably translated by Luther): "He," namely the High Priest, Simon II., "stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape; he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweet-smelling savour unto the Most High, King of all. Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard, for a remembrance before the Most High. Then all the people together hasted, and fell down to the earth upon their faces to worship their Lord God Almighty, the Most High. The singers also sang praises with their voices with psalms and the whole house resounded with the sweet melody."¹ In the Mishna-tractate on the meal offerings (*menachoth*), the localities are mentioned whence the best and second best wine for the wine libations were derived. Among the latter localities is found also the White City on the Hill. That is probably Nazareth; for this bears in ancient records the name of the White City, because the houses are built of white limestone, and because it lies in an amphitheatre

¹ The concluding words, from those bracketed onwards, are after Luther's version.

formed by hills of white calcareous lime. In the present day the wine culture there is insignificant; they train upon the soil creeping vines, but the red and white grapes, cut unripe, are brought to market to be enjoyed as a refreshing *compote*.

That the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament condemns the immoderate use of wine we need not say. To the officiating priests wine, or other strong drink, is prohibited under pain of death; as likewise of the presbyters and deacons of the Church it was required first of all that they should be no wine-bibbers. For the rest, however, only the Nazarite, who had taken a vow of abstinence for a limited time or for the duration of his life, entirely abstained from the use of wine, and that nomadic tribelet, too, of the Rechabites, whose inexorably firm adherence to the custom handed down from their fathers Jeremiah holds forth as a pattern to his own countrymen; there were also in the Roman Christian Church, Jewish Christians who on principle renounced the use of flesh and wine, perhaps because the time was not meet for indulging in such enjoyments, even as after the destruction of Jerusalem many said: "Shall we eat flesh and drink wine now, when the altar is destroyed on which flesh was wont to be offered and wine to be poured forth to God?" There are, therefore, under given circumstances, relatively legitimate grounds for abstaining from wine. That is the standpoint which should be taken by the Anglo-American advocates of the Temperance movement, without seeking to wrest from Scripture a testimony that the use of fermented wine is forbidden under any circumstances. How often have I been asked by those on this side whether the wine of the four cups of the Jewish Paschal meal was fermented! They would fain substitute in the Lord's Supper the unfermented juice for the fermented wine. The Jewish Passover wine, however, is really fermented, and only as a substitute in case of need is

unfermented wine permitted. Thus it was unfermented wine, too, which Jesus handed to the disciples at His parting meal, concluding with the mysterious words: "Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God." One is reminded in this of the old synagogal metaphor, that there is a wine of the world to come, which has been laid up since the six days of the Creation for the future use of the blessed.

The vine is a beautiful image, at the service of men, of ascending from humility to glory. There is among the useful plants no one more modest, more easily satisfied, and without display rendering such great things, out of unpretending form developing such delicious fruits. The vine is magnanimous in its endurance; it accommodates itself to the most diverse kinds of soil and a pretty high degree of cold, and does not succumb even to cruel ill-treatment. In this respect Joseph, in the blessing of Jacob, is likened to a vine, the dreamer delivered by his brethren to the heathen, who as the exalted one became the deliverer and benefactor of his people. Therefore in Ps. lxxx. Israel is compared to a vine, a vine transplanted out of the soil of Egypt, the house of bondage, to Canaan, which, though sorely plucked at and bitten, yet remains an object of Divine choice and protection, and of a love which eventually dispels for itself every cloud. And therefore Jesus also compares Himself to a vine, and His Father to the vinedresser, and His disciples to the branches; and the Church sings of the wine which He sacramentally dispenses:

"O sacred wine, to me be blest;
Since He, whose blood gives me
To feel forgiveness of my sins,
Meets me indeed with Thee."

Through these three figures of the vine there runs the

chain of historic connexion, but an intermediate link is wanting. The Messiah is the Son of David, and is known by the prophets simply as David. Where, however, is David compared to a vine? When I was sitting with my friend in the vine arbour on the Rhine, I related to him that in the library of the Jerusalem cloister in Constantinople there had been discovered an ancient and beyond doubt Jewish-Christian Church Order, of which the text has been published since the year 1883. Here a communion prayer reads: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of Thy servant David, which [vine] Thou hast made known to us by Thy servant Jesus." No one has yet succeeded in pointing out the place whence this figure of the vine of David is taken.

"I think I know the place," said my companion, "but we have no books here." Then he took a draught, smiled, and continued: "It is remarkable how the early Jewish and early Christian literature accord in matters of wine. "That is just what I was driving at," cried I: "The Old Testament and the New are one stream, as the German Middle Rhine from Bingen to Coblenz and from Coblenz to Bonn—one stream, wherein the mountains and the wine-lands and the stars and the sun are reflected." He was silent, and left me the last word.

ÉPILOGUE.

The explanation which my Rhenish friend had in mind consisted, as I think, in this, that in Ps. lxxx., where Israel is compared to a vine transplanted out of Egypt into Canaan, it reads (vv. 15, 16): "Elohim Zebaoth, oh! turn again, look from heaven and see, and visit this vine. And protect him whom Thy right hand hath planted, and the son whom Thou hast firmly bound to Thee," and that these verses are rendered in the Targum (the Aramaic

paraphrase): "Elohim Zebaoth, oh! turn now again, look from heaven and see, and remember in mercy this vine. And the vine-shoot which Thy right hand hath planted, and the King Messiah (*Malka Meschicha*), whom Thou hast established for Thyself." Here the parallel is drawn: vine

Messiah (David). As I quitted the chamber after my lecture, a friendly scholar gave me in passing another solution, in referring me to a passage of the Talmud (*Berachoth*, 57a) where it is said: "He who sees a choice vine in a dream, may look for the Messiah, for it is written (Gen. xlix. 11), 'He bindeth to the vine his foal, and to the choice vine his ass's colt.'" Rabbinowicz, in his *Varia Lectiones* to the Talmud, observes on this place that a Paris MS. of the Talmud bases this interpretation of the dream upon Ps. lxxx. 9 [8], for it reads, "A vine out of Egypt didst Thou transport, dravest out heathen and plantedst it." Thus here too the parallel is drawn, with an appeal in justification partly to Gen. xlix. 11, partly to Ps. lxxx.—vine = Messiah. The two references to the source of the figure in the newly discovered document of the early Church mutually supplement each other.

FRANZ DELITZSCH.

*THE PROBABLE PHYSICAL CAUSES OF THE
DESTRUCTION OF THE CITIES OF THE PLAIN.*

GENESIS xviii., xix.

A RECENT interesting article in the EXPOSITOR by Dr. Cheyne, has induced me to return to the consideration of the physical causes involved in the destruction of Sodom and its companion cities, and has suggested some questions which had not occurred to me, when discussing this most realistic narrative, and comparing it with the appearances

on the ground, in my recent little book on "Egypt and Syria."¹

From a geological point of view we are scarcely warranted in saying that the recent researches of my friend Professor Hull, or those of Lurtet, and other previous observers have "disposed for ever" of the theory that the doomed cities or their sites, in whole or in part have been submerged under the waters of the Salt Sea; and I feel confident that Professor Hull could not assert that they have necessarily had this effect, though his own opinion in the matter may favour that view. What they have effectually disposed of is the theory that the Dead Sea originated at the time of the destruction of those cities, which is quite a different matter. There is indeed the best evidence that this salt lake has existed from early Tertiary times, and that in the ages preceding human history it was much more extensive than at present. But this does not settle the question whether at the time of the destruction of the cities it may not have been a little larger or smaller than at present, or whether there may not have been some local subsidence in connexion with the tragic event. The answer to these questions would depend on other considerations distinct from the geological history of the sea.

As to the size of the lake, this would be regulated by the relative amounts of precipitation and evaporation in the Jordan valley and the basin of the sea at the time referred to. As to local subsidence, nothing could be more likely than this in connexion with the disturbances recorded in Genesis. Such evidence as we have, however, gives no reason to believe that the climate of Palestine was less humid than at present in the time of Abraham. On the contrary, the probably greater amount of forest surface would justify the belief that it was at least less arid than in modern times. Further, if the country was better wooded,

¹ *Bye-paths of Bible Knowledge*, Religious Tract Society.

the floods of the Jordan would probably be less violent than they now are, and the level of the Dead Sea would be more constant. As to local subsidence, there are facts noted in a previous narrative in Genesis xiv., which give some reason to believe that this may have occurred. I take it for granted that as Canon Tristram and Dr. Selah Merrill have so ably argued, the cities were at the north end of the sea, and that the vale of Siddim in which their kings met the Eastern invaders was also there. Now these invaders are said to have marched up the western side of the sea by way of Engedi, and to have been met by their opponents in a vale or plain full of bitumen pits. At present it would be difficult for an army encumbered with plunder to move along the coast of the Dead Sea northward of Engedi, and it does not appear that the host of Chedorlaomer and his confederates went up the Engedi pass to the westward and round to the plain of Jordan through the hills of the Amorites. It is possible therefore that they may have passed along a fringe of low country now submerged, and in which were the petroleum wells. Tristram notes in this vicinity a band of bituminous rock in the cliffs and exudations of mineral pitch, but there seem to be no indications of the numerous petroleum pits referred to in Genesis, and possibly these may be now submerged. Nor would it be wonderful if the locality in question should now be occupied with deep water, since such local subsidence, occasioned by removal of material from below, might be of considerable natural amount. It is proper to add, however, that the disappearance of the bitumen pits may be accounted for in another way, to be noticed in the sequel.

It may be urged as an argument against the occurrence of any subsidence, that the notice of the locality in Deuteronomy xxix. 23, would imply that in the time of Moses the site of the destroyed cities was believed to be a land characterized by salt and sulphur and dryness, or in other

words a plain covered with deposits similar to that which occur in various places around the sea; yet there is no contradiction between this and the supposition that a portion of the original plain had been submerged. What remained of it might present the characters of aridity and barrenness referred to.

With reference to the causes of the destruction of the cities, these are so clearly stated in a perfectly unconscious and incidental manner in Genesis xix., that I think no geologist, on comparing the narrative with the structure of the district, can hesitate as to the nature of the phenomena which were presented to the observation of the narrator. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the history is compounded of two narratives giving different views as to the cause of the catastrophe. On the contrary, the story has all the internal evidence of being a record of the observations of intelligent eye-witnesses who reported the appearances observed without concerning themselves as to their proximate causes or natural probability.

We learn from the narrative that the destruction was sudden and unexpected, that it was caused by "brimstone and fire," that these were rained down from the sky, that a dense column of smoke ascended to a great height like the smoke of a furnace or lime-kiln, and that along with, or immediately after the fire, there was an emission of brine or saline mud, capable of encrusting bodies (as that of Lot's wife), so that they appeared as mounds (not pillars) of salt. The only point in the statements in regard to which there can be doubt, is the substance intended by the Hebrew word translated "brimstone." It may mean sulphur, of which there is abundance in some of the Dead Sea depths; but there is reason to suspect that, as used here, it may rather denote pitch, since it is derived from the same root with Gopher, the Hebrew name apparently of the cypress and other resinous woods. If, however, this were the inten-

tion of the writer, the question arises why did he use this word *Gaphrith* (גפריית), when the Hebrew possesses other words suitable to designate different forms of petroleum and asphalt. In this language *Zeptheth* is the proper term for petroleum or rock oil in its liquid state, while *Chemar* denotes asphalt or mineral pitch, the more solid form of the mineral, and *Copher* is asphaltic or resinous varnish, used for covering and protecting wood and other materials. As examples of the use of these words in the Pentateuch, Noah is said to have used copher for the ark, the builders of Babel used chemar or asphalt as a cement, and the careful mother of Moses used both chemar and zeptheth to make the cradle of her child water-tight. These distinctions are not kept up by the translators, but a comparison of passages shows that they were well understood by the original writer of the Pentateuch, who had not studied the chemistry of the Egyptian schools to no purpose.¹ Why then does he in this place use this quite undecided term *gaphrith*? The most likely reason would seem to be that he did not wish to commit himself to any particular kind of inflammable mineral, but preferred a term which his readers would understand as including any kind of mineral pitch or oil, and possibly sulphur as well. It would have been well if later writers who have undertaken to describe the fires of Gehenna in terms taken from the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, had been equally cautious. It is interesting to note in connexion with this, that in the notice of the pits in the vale of Siddim, the specific word *chemar*, asphalt, is used, and it is in this particular form that the bituminous exudations of the region of the Dead Sea usually appear.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the circumstances

¹ I do not know if it is necessary to apologise for assuming that Genesis is a Book of Moses. It is at least quite evident that its editor was trained in the schools of Egypt, and was better qualified to describe natural phenomena than the greater number of his critics and commentators in later times.

above referred to are not those of a volcanic eruption, and there is no mention of any earthquake, which, if it occurred, must in the judgment of the narrator have been altogether a subordinate feature. Nor is an earthquake necessarily implied in the expression "overthrown," used in Deuteronomy xxix. Still, as we shall see, more or less tremor of the ground very probably occurred, and might have impressed itself on traditions of the event, especially as the district is subject to earthquakes, though it is not mentioned in theological narrative.

The description is that of a bitumen or petroleum eruption, similar to those which on a small scale have been so destructive in the regions of Canada and the United States of America. They arise from the existence of reservoirs of compressed inflammable gas along with petroleum and water, existing at considerable depths below the surface. When these are penetrated, as by a well or bore-hole, the gas escapes with explosive force carrying petroleum with it, and when both have been ignited the petroleum rains down in burning showers and floats in flames over the ejected water, while a dense smoke towers high into the air, and the intruding draft may produce a vortex, carrying it upward to a still greater height, and distributing still more widely the burning material, which is almost inextinguishable and most destructive to life and to buildings.

In the valley of the Euphrates, according to Layard, the Arabs can produce miniature eruptions of this kind, by breaking with stones the crust of hardened asphalt that has formed on the surface of the bitumen springs, and igniting the vapours and liquid petroleum.

Now the valley of the Dead Sea is an "oil district," and from the incidental mention of its slime pits, or literally asphalt pits, in Genesis xiv., was apparently more productive in mineral pitch in ancient times. It is interesting in connexion with this to notice that Conder found layers

of asphalt in the mound which marks the site of ancient Jericho, showing that the substance was used in primitive times for roofs and floors or as a cement to protect brick structures from damp, and it is well known that petroleum exudes from the rocks both on the sides and in the bottom of the Dead Sea, and, being hardened by evaporation and oxygelation, forms the asphaltum referred to by so many travellers.

The source of the bituminous matter is in the great beds of bituminous limestone of Upper Cretaceous age which appear at Neby Mousa, on the Jericho road and at many other places in the vicinity of the sea, and no doubt underlie its bed and the lower part of the Jordan plain. From these beds bituminous and gaseous matter must have been at all times exuding. Further, the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea basin are on the line of a great fault or fracture traversing these beds, and affording means of escape to their products, especially when the district is shaken by earthquakes. We have thus only to suppose that at the time in question reservoirs of condensed gas and petroleum existed under the plain of Siddim, and that these were suddenly discharged, either by their own accumulated pressure, or by an earthquake shock fracturing the overlying beds, when the phenomena described by the writer in Genesis would occur, and after the eruption the site would be covered with a saline and sulphurous deposit, while many of the sources of petroleum previously existing might be permanently dried up. In connexion with this there might be subsidence of the ground over the now exhausted reservoirs, and this might give rise to the idea of the submergence of the cities. It is to be observed, however, that the parenthetic statement in Genesis xiv., "which is the Salt Sea," does not certainly mean under the sea, and that it relates not to the cities themselves but to the plain where the battle recorded in the chapter was fought at a time

previous to the eruption. It is also to be noted that this particular locality is precisely the one which, as previously stated, may on other grounds be supposed to have subsided, and that this subsidence having occurred subsequently may have rendered less intelligible the march of the invading army to later readers, and this may have required to be mentioned.¹

It seems difficult to imagine that anything except the real occurrence of such an event could have given origin to the narrative. No one unacquainted with the structure of the district and the probability of bitumen eruptions in connexion with this structure, would be likely to imagine the raining of burning pitch from the sky, with the attendant phenomena stated so simply and without any appearance of exaggeration, and with the evident intention to dwell on the spiritual and moral significance of the event, while giving just as much of the physical features as was essential to this purpose. It may be added here that in Isaiah xxxiv. 9 and 10 there is a graphic description of a bitumen eruption, which may possibly be based on the history now under consideration, though used figuratively to illustrate the doom of Idumea.

In thus directing attention to the physical phenomena attendant on the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, I do not desire to detract from the providential character of the catastrophe, or from the lessons which it teaches, and which have pervaded the religion and literature of the world ever since it occurred. I merely wish to show that there is nothing in the narrative comparable with the wild myths and fanciful conjectures sometimes asso-

¹ Lyell notices a subsidence as having occurred within the present century in Trinidad, which gave origin to a small lake of mineral pitch, and the well-known pitch lake of that island is supposed to have originated in a similar subsidence. The later subsidence is said to have caused "great terror" among the inhabitants, and if the petroleum or its gaseous emanations had been ignited serious consequences might have ensued.

ciated with it, and that its author has described in an intelligent manner, appearances which he must have seen or which were described to him by competent witnesses. I wish also to indicate that the statements made are in accordance with the structure and possibilities of the district as now understood after its scientific exploration. From a scientific point of view it is an almost vague description of a natural phenomena of much interest and of very rare occurrence.

Nor do I desire to be understood as asserting that Sodom and its companion cities were unique in the facilities of destruction afforded by their situation. They were no doubt so placed as to be specially subject to one particular kind of overthrow. But it may be safely said that there is no city in the world which is not equally, though perhaps by other agencies, within the reach of Divine power exercised through the energies of nature, should it be found to be destitute of "ten righteous men." So that the conclusion still holds—"except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish."

I may be permitted to add that, notwithstanding all that has been done in recent times, there is still much room for the application of natural science to the interpretation of the more ancient books of the Hebrew Scriptures, which are undoubtedly the productions of men of culture and of keen and accurate appreciation of nature, but which have come down to us through ages of comparative darkness in regard to physical phenomena—a darkness unhappily scarcely yet dispelled even from the higher walks of biblical interpretation.

J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

A NEW BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPT.

ABOUT five years ago two well-known German scholars, Harnack and Gebhardt, discovered a new manuscript of the Gospels at Rossano, a curious old town of Greek origin situated near the heel of Italy. That manuscript was of very great interest in many respects. It was a new manuscript of the sixth century at least, and its antiquity alone invested it with importance. It belonged to a very limited class again. It was written in letters of gold on a purple ground. It was a most expensive work therefore, and may represent to us the type of New Testament which Eusebius was commissioned to supply for the use of some leading Churches after the triumph of Christianity. The Rossano Manuscript was also embellished with a number of pictures, and was thus a specimen of very early Christian art. From another point of view this manuscript was important, because it illustrated the old Greek connexion between Constantinople and the eastern coast of Italy, which existed down even so late as the last century, when traces of the old Greek rites still existed in the services at Rossano. Another similar manuscript has now turned up on the opposite coast, and has been described by Pierre Batiffol, a member of the French Archæological School at Rome.¹ So long ago as 1881, L. Duchesne, another French scholar of the same school, mentioned its existence, deriving his knowledge from the work of Anthymus, Metropolitan of Berat, published at Coreyra in 1868.² Duchesne however knew it only by report. This year Batiffol was despatched by the French Minister of Public Instruction to inspect it. The French government, whether Imperial or Republican, seems animated by a more genuine spirit of learning and research than the British. He found in the library of the Albanian Metropolitan quite a store of ancient MSS., amounting to some twenty in number, partly biblical, partly liturgical, the most valuable of which

¹ *Melanges d'Archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome.* 1885.

² Berat is a corruption of Belgrade. It must, however, be carefully distinguished from the Servian Belgrade on the Danube. Berat is situated on the little river Argent, which flows into the Adriatic nearly opposite Otranto in Italy. There is a very interesting description of the place in Tozer's *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. i. p. 218, and even of the personal appearance of Anthymus, the Metropolitan. The work above referred to was an ecclesiastical history of his see.

he here describes. It is a fifth or sixth century MS. of the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark, written like the Rossano one, in gold on a purple ground. It belonged originally to a monastery in Patmos, whence it passed probably to Asia Minor or Syria, and thence was carried by some chance to its present abode some time about the end of the fourteenth century. The great interest of the manuscript however centres in a note which it bears, stating that it was written by St. John Chrysostom, when he was deacon of the Church at Antioch, which of course cannot be true if critics are right in the date assigned to it, but may indicate its transcription from a text derived from the Antiochene school. This note was written afresh when the book was rebound in the year 1805, but professes to be a copy of a more ancient note to the same effect. The German government published a transcript of the pictures and part of the text of the Rossano MS. soon after its discovery. We hope the French government will not only give scholars the opportunity of studying the conclusions of their agents as can be done in the treatise of M. Batiffol, but also enable them to judge the value of the manuscript for themselves by a similar publication. Gebhardt has reviewed, with his usual learning, Batiffol's account of the *Codex Φ* as it is called, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for Dec. 12th.

It is a curious coincidence that just as this Biblical manuscript sees the light, another manuscript comes to us from the very same Greek Monastery of St. John, at Patmos, the original home as it would seem of the *Codex Aureus Φ*. The Acts or Passions of SS. Peter and Paul were originally Catholic documents, dating, in the opinion of Lipsius, the great authority on this subject, from the end of the second century. They were adopted by the Gnostics for their own purposes, and have given rise to various well-known ecclesiastical traditions about St. Peter, as that concerning his crucifixion with his head downwards, and specially to a very interesting and beautiful one, which we tell for the benefit of the reader who may not have met it. It sets forth how St. Peter was fleeing from Rome to avoid the rage of Nero, when he met Christ entering the gate through which he was leaving. Peter said to Him, "Domine, quo vadis?" "Lord, whither goest Thou?" words which every visitor to Rome will remember in connexion with a well-known spot. The Lord replied, "I am entering into Rome

to be crucified a second time." "Lord, is it to be a second time crucified?" said Peter. "Yes, Peter," replied Christ, "I shall be again crucified." Whereupon Christ ascended into heaven, and Peter, recalled to himself, returned to the disciples who had overpersuaded him to fly from Rome. These Acts have long been known in a Latin shape, while the traditions involved in them are found in Ambrose and other early patristic writers. The Greek text has been known to be in MS. at Patmos, but has never been printed. Lipsius has now published it in the new number of the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, being the first part of the volume for 1886. The accounts of both martyrdoms are very interesting, while we can recognise in the text many traces of the Gnostic and heretical legends which became intermingled with them. The Greek text now published by Lipsius is much purer and simpler than the Latin form as published by Tischendorf, and criticised by Dr. Salmon in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 436, with which there may be usefully compared his article on Linus in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, t. iii. p. 736. Perhaps the greatest interest of all attaching to these discoveries is the possibilities they suggest. Even Mr. Tozer does not seem to have thought of investigating the literary resources of the Cathedral perched on the romantic Albanian rock. How many another treasure may lie hidden amid the recesses of these comparatively unexplored regions!

Trinity College, Dublin,
Dec. 15th, 1885.

GEORGE THOMAS STOKES.

P.S.—Professor Harnack has called my attention to the fact that I have misrepresented his views with respect to the Gospel of the Egyptians. In my article on the Fayûm Gospel Fragment, in the August Number of this Magazine, p. 136, I stated that he had changed his views since last year, about the relation of that Apocryphal Gospel to the Canonical St. Matthew. He points out that his views are still exactly the same as they were then. The mistake was mine in quoting his work on the *Teaching of the Twelve* from memory and without verification.

PROFESSOR JULIUS WELLHAUSEN AND HIS
THEORY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

JULIUS WELLHAUSEN was born May 17th, 1844, in the province of Hanover, in the quaint and romantic walled town of Hameln on the Weser, where his father was pastor. After attending school three years in the city of Hanover, he entered the university of Göttingen in the spring of 1862. Here he was attracted by Ewald, who held him to the study of theology, with which, owing to some other influences, he might easily have become disgusted. In the autumn of 1865, one year after Ritschl's connexion was formed with the theological faculty,¹ he left the university and was engaged for a time as a private tutor, but returned to Göttingen in 1867, where he remained five years, from the spring of 1868 until the autumn of 1870 as *Repetent*,² and for two years thereafter as *Privat-docent*.³ In 1872 he was called as an ordinary professor of theology to Greifswald, where he became the colleague of Cremer and Zöckler, winning golden opinions by the modesty, vivacity and friendliness of his demeanour, and by the marked ability of his lectures. The estimation in which he was held by his colleagues of the philosophical faculty of Greifswald is indicated in the

¹ Wellhausen is regarded as sharing in the general aims of Ritschl's school, which seeks to combine personal piety, and a firm maintenance of the New Testament basis of religion as divinely revealed, together with the freest criticism.

² This would seem to correspond to the office of a private tutor in the English universities.

³ This is the technical German term for a private lecturer at a university, who has received the professor's right to lecture, without his official position or emoluments.

eulogium¹ of the doctor's diploma which was presented to him on his departure for Halle.

His acceptance of an extraordinary professorship² of Oriental languages at Halle was not a promotion in any sense. But his departure from Greifswald was of his own free will and highly honourable to him. Feeling that he was not adapted to train young men for the ministry, and perhaps on account of the destructive character of his theories regarding the origin of the Pentateuch, he relinquished the position³ which he had held with honour for ten years.

Some of those who know him best speak with warmth of his sincerity, and even of his piety. It is well that we should get an impression of the personality of the man outside of his writings, as they seem to be animated with a spirit that prejudices many against him. They all display marked thoroughness and ability. None of them were prepared to fill a publisher's order. They are rather the ripe fruitage of careful study. His Text of the Books of Samuel,

¹ Ivlivm Wellhavsén Theologiæ Doctorem et Professorem qui de Libris Sacris et ad Artis Præcepta Recensendis et Felici Ingenio Emendandis Optime Meritis et Regni Hasmonæorum Popvlivqe Ivdaici Stvdia ac Simvlitates Ivdicio non minvs candido qvam acri illvstravit et prisecam Popvli Hebraici Memoriam e Seqviorvm Cærimoniarym Involveris ad Castam Pristinæ Religioni Sanctitatem Revocavit.

² An extraordinary professorship is the second step above the position of *privat-docent* in the ladder of promotion. Unlike the ordinary professor, he does not receive a full support from the state, and has no seat in the faculty, nor in the senate. Last spring, however, Wellhausen was appointed an ordinary professor of Oriental languages and history at Marburg.

³ The reason which he assigns in his *Muhammed in Medina* (Berlin, 1882), p. 5, is only partial. He says: "Den Uebergang vom Alten Testament zu den Arabern habe ich gemacht in der Absicht, den Wildling kennen zu lernen, auf den von Priestern und Propheten das Reis der Thora Jahve's gepropft ist. Denn ich zweifle nicht daran, dass von der ursprünglichen Ausstattung, mit der die Hebräer in die Geschichte getreten sind, sich durch die Vergleichung des Arabischen Alterthums am ehesten eine Vorstellung gewinnen lässt."

It is said that the influence of the minister of worship, both in Germany and Austria, is unfavourable to the appointment of theological professors holding Wellhausen's critical views, and that this fact has a restraining influence upon the younger theologians.

his Chronology of the Book of the Kings after the Division of the Kingdom, his Composition of the Hexateuch, and his contributions to the fourth edition of Bleek's Introduction, all prepared the way for his masterpiece, the Prolegomena to the History of Israel.¹ The data for the arguments contained in this book were in existence before in the writings of a Graf, Duhm, Kayser, and Kuenen, not to speak of an earlier circle, but they were scattered here and there. It was Wellhausen's discrimination which tested them, and his genius which skilfully combined them in an argument which seems to their author, and perhaps to the majority of German Old Testament theologians, invincible, at least if we may judge from the effects. On all sides since this book has appeared we hear of conversions and

¹ The following is a list of Wellhausen's writings, all of which except the first have passed under the eye of the writer.

1. *De gentibus et familiis Judæis quæ 1 Chron. ii.-iv. enumerantur. Dissertatio Inauguralis.* Gottingæ, 1870.

2. *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis.* Göttingen, 1871.

3. *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducæer.* Griefswald, 1874.

5. *Die Zeitrechnung des Buchs der Könige seit der Theilung des Reichs, in den Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie,* pp. 607-640. Gotha, 1875.

6. *Ueber den bisherigen Gang und den Gegenwärtigen Stand der Keilentsifferung, in the Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.* Frankfurt a. M., 1876, pp. 153-175.

7. *Die Composition des Hexateuchs. Jahrbücher, etc.* 1876, pp. 392-405; 531-602; 1877, 409-479.

8. *Die Bücher Judicum, Samuelis, und Regum, further die Geschichte des Kanons and die Geschichte des Textes* in the fourth edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* Berlin, 1878.

9. *Geschichte Israels.* Berlin, 1878. Second edition. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels.* Ibid. 1883; also in English, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel.* Edinburgh, 1885.

10. Article *Israel* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* New York, 1881, pp. 396-432.

11. *Muhammed in Medina.* Berlin, 1882.

12. *Mohammed and the First Four Caliphs, Encyclopædia Britannica.* New York, 1883, p. 545-565.

13. *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, Erstes Heft* [pp. 1-102, cover substantially the same ground as the article *Israel* in the *Britannica*, although in a more extended form]. Berlin, 1884.

14. *Pentateuch and Joshua, Encyclopædia Britannica.* New York, 1885, pp. 505-514.

concessions.¹ But while on the one hand Wellhausen adopts the sarcastic language of Isaiah (xli. 6, 7) with reference to his opponents, he scornfully rejects the plan of taking votes as to the progress of the new criticism. Perhaps it is an utter disgust for cant which has led him to employ a style in treating of the Old Testament Scriptures, which, if used in discussing any other subject, would be considered piquant, but which in his earlier productions is flippant, and in the book which we especially have in hand sounds profane and irreverent. It seems as though the author delighted in wounding the sensibilities of his Christian readers. We must however admit that in his Sketches,² one of his latest productions, he omits such offensive language.

In our present discussion of Wellhausen's theory of the

¹ The writer, however, does not know of more than one who publicly acknowledged that his critical views were changed through Wellhausen's History of Israel. This was done by Kautzsch in Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, 1879, columns 25-30. The following very general classification may perhaps be made, although it must be remembered that Reuss should be regarded as the father of these views, and that each of those mentioned seeks to hold an independent position for himself: 1. *Supporters of the post-exilic codification of the Priests' Code*: Bonn (Budde), Giessen (Stade), Göttingen (Duhm, H. Schultz), Greifswald (Giesebrecht), Heidelberg (Kneucker), Jena (Siegfried), Leipzig (Guthe, König), Marburg (Cornill), Strassburg (Kayser, d. 1885, Nowack Reuss), Tübingen (Kautzsch), Basel (Smend), Lausanne (Vuilleumier), Zürich (Steiner). 2. *Supporters of the Priests' Code as an older document*: Berlin (Dillmann, Strack, but with concessions), Erlangen (Köhler), Greifswald (Bredenkamp, d. 1885), Kiel (Klostermann?), Leipzig (Delitzsch, with concessions), Dorpat (Mühlau, Volek?). 3. *Mediating critics*: Bonn (Kamphausen), Leipzig (Ryssel), Marburg (Baudissin). 4. *Defender of the Mosaic authorship*: Rostock (Bachmann), Keil is not a professor in any university, but resides in Leipzig. While the above list cannot be absolutely accurate, it is approximately so, and rests not only on the writer's partial knowledge, but also on classifications furnished by two eminent German Old Testament scholars, one of whom has made his mark in Old Testament bibliography.

The writer has received valuable letters from Professors Baudissin, Delitzsch, Dillmann, Kautsch, Siegfried, Wellhausen, and Zöckler.

Wellhausen does not hesitate to claim that the great change in the views of the German professors of Old Testament theology has been brought about by his book. He says that this fact is not weakened by their sudden claim that they have long known what they have learned from him. Cf. *Prolegomena*, p. 1.

² *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. Berlin, 1884.

Pentateuch, we shall consider two main points. 1. What are the constituent parts of the Pentateuch? And 2. How does Wellhausen justify this division?

On entering Wellhausen's critical analysis of the Pentateuch we find ourselves at once in a labyrinth, in which we seem at first to be hopelessly lost, but he gives us a thread by which we may find our way out. If we would follow the path which he indicates we must dismiss such modern devices as chapters and verses, names of books, and Massoretic sections. While we lose Moses from the Pentateuch, we shall find in it a mosaic, not brought together by chance, but exhibiting the hand of a master.

Perhaps we should form a clearer conception of the critical method in the analysis of the Pentateuch, if we were to suppose that our four gospels only existed in the form of a harmony, as one continuous life of Christ, and that in such a harmony the synoptists had been combined as much as possible, by cutting out passages from one gospel that were found in another, by allowing some parallel passages to stand, and by fitting in passages from John in their proper places. If we now had only Tatian's Diatessaron of the gospels, which began with John i. 1, a similar problem would be presented to students of New Testament criticism as to those of Old, for Wellhausen claims that we may trace four main documents in the composition of the Pentateuch.

Tatian's Diatessaron therefore, as far as we know about it, may serve to illustrate the process by which the critics claim that the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch,¹ came into existence. Sometime during the years 850-770 B.C., or perhaps even later,² two narratives of Israel, from the

¹ This term has been invented by the critics to indicate the five books of the Pentateuch, and the Book of Joshua.

² Cf. *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiii. New York, 1881, p. 408. Wellhausen affirms that certain collections of laws and decisions of priests were written somewhat earlier than the legends about the patriarchs and primitive times.

creation of the world to the conquest and settlement in Canaan, were written. Which is the older of the two we cannot tell.¹ The last part of one of these, whose author is called the Jahvist, from the name of God which he predominantly uses, breaks off with the blessing of Balaam.² In his narrative he combined the myths, the legends, and the traditional histories then existing. After he had committed his work to writing the legends were still growing beside it, and from time to time were incorporated into it, so that the Jahvistic work may be considered as having passed through at least three editions before it was united with the following book.³

The second narrative, which is not necessarily second in the order of time, is called the Elohist, from Elohim, the name of God which is characteristic of it. We must not confound its author with the Elohist writer in Ewald's Book of Origins, whose work appears at the very beginning of Genesis, (i. 1 ; ii. 4a), and who is called by a misnomer the older Elohist, while the one of whom we are now speaking is called the younger Elohist, thus prejudging the whole question of the relative age of the documents.⁴ The history of the Elohist which Wellhausen has in view is unlike that of the Jahvist in extent, since while it first begins with the patriarchs, it extends throughout the book of Joshua.⁵ It resembles the other, however, in having passed through three editions.

Still later a writer, whom Wellhausen calls the Jehovist,⁶ wished to prepare a new history of Israel from the creation of the world until the settlement of Israel in Canaan under

¹ See *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Berlin, 1878, p. 178.

² *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*. Gotha, 1876, p. 585.

³ *Idem*, 1877, p. 478. ⁴ Cf. *Idem*, 1876, p. 392. ⁵ *Idem*, p. 602.

⁶ This term must be distinguished from the Jahvist, which is derived from Jahveh (Yahveh), the pronunciation which is commonly adopted by critics for the name יהוה. Wellhausen means by the Jehovist the combination of J(alvist) and E(lohist) = JE. Cf. *Einleitung, in das Alte Testament*. Berlin, 1878, p. 178.

Joshua. The two works named were his chief, although not his only sources of information.¹ Instead of digesting them as a modern author would do, and writing an entirely new history, he took the existing materials much as a New Testament harmonist would in preparing a life of Christ in the words of Scripture. He made the Jahvistic work the basis of his narrative, and interwove with it passages of the parallel Elohistie book.² In some cases he has sacrificed one writer at the expense of another,³ in others he has allowed two accounts to stand side by side.⁴ There are, too, certain parts where he has made a much freer use of his materials,⁵ and where he has engaged in independent authorship,⁶ This work was mostly narrative, yet it contained a brief legal code, the so-called Book of the Covenant⁷ (Exod. xx.–xxiii.), and Exod. xxxi. the former of which at least was taken from the Jahvist.

The third contribution to the constituent elements of the Pentateuch was mainly legal. Doubtless during the reign of the wicked king Manasseh, the prophets and priests⁸ had become convinced that something must be done to check the growing idolatry of the people, and it is not unlikely that the Decalogue dates from this period.⁹ It seemed to them that a stop must be put to the practice of the Judeans in worshipping on the high places (*bamoth*). This could only be accomplished by limiting the worship of Jehovah to Jerusalem. They therefore prepared a new law-book,¹⁰ a *deuterus nomos* (Deuteronomy), based on the Book of the Covenant, and yet differing from it in its reiterated command that God should be worshipped in one place, and in

¹ *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie.* Gotha, 1876, p. 419.

² *Idem*, p. 413.

³ *Idem*, pp. 537, 542.

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 420–423, 428, 429, 535, 536.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 561.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 564.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 557.

⁸ *Prolegomena.* Berlin, 1883, p. 26.

⁹ Cf. *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten.* Berlin, 1883, p. 26.

¹⁰ Cf. *Idem*, pp. 69 ff. *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie.* Gotha, 1877, pp. 466 ff. Cf. *Prolegomena.* Berlin, 1883, pp. 392 ff.

the position which it assigned to the Levites as the only legitimate priests. This book was at first purely legal, and embraced only Deut. xii.–xxvi. Afterwards there were two recensions of it, one consisting of chapters i.–iv., xii.–xxvi., xxvii., and the other of v.–xi., xii.–xxvi., xxviii. These two were subsequently united and inserted in the legal code of the Hexateuch, when chapter xxxi. was added.¹ This Book of Deuteronomy is the law book which was discovered under king Josiah in the year 621 B.C.

This narrative, which comprised only a fraction of the present Hexateuch, was lacking in the most striking elements now found in the Pentateuch. There was nothing in it about the tabernacle as the central sanctuary around which the twelve tribes were encamped, nothing about an elaborate system of sacrifices, nothing about an Aaronic priesthood. While the priests may well have had a traditional code, it was still unwritten, and was yet destined to great modifications. The Deuteronomic code was not without effect. Its chief polemic brought the worship of the high places into disfavour,² and, as a result which was not designed indeed, the Levitical priests who had served the people there were degraded from their office,³ as we learn from Ezekiel, and became servants of their more fortunate brethren, the sons of Zadok,⁴ at Jerusalem. This centralization of worship and degradation of the Levites, could not but affect the traditional priestly code, but the most important factor was the Babylonian exile, which suddenly cut off the political and religious life of the nation for more than two generations.⁵ The ritual ceased to be practised, it now became the object of study and reflection.⁶ The priests of necessity

¹ *Idem*, p. 464.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiii. New York, 1881, p. 418.

³ *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. Berlin, 1884, p. 71.

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiii. New York, 1881, p. 418.

⁵ From the year 586 B.C., when Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed, until 538, when Cyrus gave the exiles permission to return. *Skizzen*, pp. 75–81.

⁶ *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. Berlin, 1883, p. 62.

became scribes.¹ How much their ideals differed from the law already found in the Book of the Covenant and in Deuteronomy appears from the sketch presented in the last nine chapters of the Book of the priestly prophet Ezekiel. A further stage is indicated in the small code Lev. xvii.-xxvi., which was subsequently written in the spirit of Ezekiel's code, although not by Ezekiel himself. Meanwhile a new account of Israel's history from the creation to the settlement in Canaan under Joshua was written from the stand-point of these new priestly enactments. How long the new work was finished after the exile is not indicated. Wellhausen calls it the Book of the Four Covenants.² This book was made the basis of what he calls the Priests' Code, a work whose materials may have extended far back,³ and which grew up among the priests as the Mishna at a later period among the scribes. There were then two historico-legal works in existence, both running parallel from the creation of the world to the settlement of Israel in Canaan.

At last part of the Jews were restored to their own land. In the year 458 B.C., the scribe Ezra came to Jerusalem, and cast in his lot with his Judean brethren. While he was not the author of the Priests' Code,⁴ which had gradually grown up with the Book of the Four Covenants, on which it was based, among the priestly scribes at Babylon, yet he is supposed to be the one who united it with the Jehovistic edition of the Hexateuch which included the Book of Deuteronomy. For fourteen years Ezra did not introduce the new law book, but conducted the congregation according to the Deuteronomic code. What was the reason of this delay in its introduction does not appear.

¹ *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*. Greifswald, 1874, pp. 12-14.

² He gives it this name which he indicates by Q[ua]tuor], because it prepared the way for the Mosaic covenant through the covenants with Adam, Noah, and Abraham. *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*. Gotha, 1877, p. 407.

³ *Skizzen*, pp. 43 f. *Prolegomena*, p. 388.

⁴ *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. Berlin, 1883, p. 434.

It is not unlikely that he was adapting this product of Babylonian wisdom to the practical needs of the congregation at Jerusalem, and was perhaps training helpers to assist him in carrying out the provisions of the new code.¹ The book which Ezra introduced in the year 444 B.C. was essentially our present Pentateuch, although various novels and interpolations crept in until the year 300 B.C.²

Such in general is Wellhausen's theory of the origin of the Hexateuch as nearly as it can be gathered from his various writings, although he nowhere attempts the hazardous experiment of presenting a connected picture of the origin of the different parts, but evidently leaves each student of his writings to paint one for himself.

We have next to consider on what grounds Wellhausen adopts this theory of the origin of the Pentateuch. We shall find that it is based on the history of worship, of the Hebrew language, and of the Hebrew literature. As all roads led to Rome, so it will be seen that the result of every investigation presented by Wellhausen tends to establish the position that the priestly portions of the Pentateuch were first codified after the exile.

If we consider the evidences drawn from the history of worship we shall find that they fall under the four heads of time, place, mode, and persons, and that each of the works described reckoning them as the Jehovistic, Deuteronomic, and Priestly, mark three stages in a development. Before the last, a fourth, however, should be inserted, as forming a necessary connexion, which may be called the Code of Ezekiel (xl.-xlviii.). The dates represented are about 850-770 B.C. (Jehovistic), 621 B.C. (Deuteronomic), 573 B.C. (Ezekelian), 444 B.C. (Priestly). We begin in the Jehovistic Code with the simplest ideas of the time, place, and mode of worship, and of the persons engaged in it, we reach a

¹ *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. Berlin, 1883, pp. 429 ff.

² Cf. *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*. Gotha, 1876, pp. 441-442.

higher plane in Deuteronomy, a still higher one in Ezekiel, and the highest of all in the Priests' Code.

Let us take the matter in detail with regard to the sacred seasons. Beginning first with the unit seven, which marks off the Sabbath of the week, and of the years, reaching its culmination with the year of jubilee, we do not find this highly developed system of Sabbatical time in the Jehovist, or in the Deuteronomist. The Sabbath in all its strictness is a product of the ascetic spirit of the exile, and the year of jubilee is one of the latest inventions of Jewish scribes.¹

The same principle may be observed with regard to the Hebrew festivals, passover, pentecost, and tabernacles. In the Jehovistic code, all but the first are simple, gladsome feasts of harvest² for individuals,³ in the Deuteronomic they are more elaborate,⁴ although they still possess the same joyful character, but in the Priests' Code all the spontaneity, and gladness have vanished; they are to be celebrated by the congregation as a religious duty.⁵ Thus the motive assigned for their observance is of an entirely different sort from that which we find in the early documents.

The same law of development is illustrated in regard to the place of worship. In the Book of the Covenant, which is a part of the Jehovistic work, the suppliant may build his altar anywhere;⁶ but in the second edition of the law (Deut. xii.-xxvi.), he is distinctly told that he may not worship everywhere, but that he must confine himself to the one place, which the Lord his God shall choose to set His name there.⁷ In the Priests' Code it seems to be taken as a matter of course that there is only one place where worship can be offered, and that is at the tabernacle.⁸ The steps,

Cf. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. Berlin, 1883, pp. 117-124.

² *Prolegomena*, p. 95. Wellhausen connects the passover with the life of herdsman.

³ *Idem*, p. 103.

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 86 f.

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 104, 107.

⁶ *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. Berlin, 1883, pp. 29-30.

⁷ *Idem*, pp. 33-35.

⁸ *Idem*, pp. 35-37.

then, in this development are: the Jehovist allows worship anywhere, the Deuteronomist limits it to one place [Jerusalem], the Priests' Code does not once debate the question, but assumes that worship at only one place is established usage.

What then is true in regard to the mode of worship, may we not have an exception here? In the first place we find the Book of the Covenant and of Deuteronomy almost barren of the terms which describe sacrifice,¹ which they seem to regard as an ancient institution. If we look again, we notice a childlikeness in the views of sacrifice, which could not bear the scrutiny of the priestly scribes during the exile. Sacrifices were at first evidently spontaneous sacrificial meals, at which the offerers were gathered with their friends, and where in a naive way they considered themselves as God's guests.² The vicarious element was largely if not entirely wanting until after the exile.³ The great day of atonement is a product of Judaism. Here, as elsewhere, the ascending steps from a simple sacrificial meal, which the offerer ate with gladness in company with his friends, to the elaborate ritual of the great day of atonement are clearly marked.

Again, what persons may offer sacrifice, must they be priests? The Jehovist answers, "No; young men may offer the sacrifices"; the Deuteronomist says, "Yes, but any Levite may officiate as priest"; Ezekiel says, "Yes, but of the Levites, those who have served at the high places may not present the offerings, only the sons of Zadok can perform this office"; the Priests' Code replies, "Yes, but only the sons of Aaron may be priests." Here then we have four steps: young men, Levites, sons of Zadok, sons of Aaron,

¹ This is rather implied than directly stated. Cf. *Prolegomena*, p. 54, pp. 72-73.

² *Prolegomena*, pp. 74, 79.

³ Wellhausen does not say this in so many words, but he seems to imply it, pp. 76, 83, 84.

and a complete hierarchy with the high priest at its head.

Now if we regard the Jehovistic, Deuteronomic, Ezeke-
lian, and Priest's Code as forming a pyramid with the Jeho-
vistic work as the base and the Priests' Code as the apex,
we shall find that there are steps on each of the four sides
ascending to the top, and that the apex is four-faced: 1. On
the side of the sacred seasons, ascending to the year of
jubilee; 2. On that of sacred places, reaching the one legiti-
mate place of worship in the temple at Jerusalem; 3.
Sacred ceremonies, which find their culmination in the
sacrifices of the great day of atonement; 4. Sacred persons,
attaining their highest dignity in the high priest, who is at
the same time an ecclesiastical and civil ruler.

It remains for us to inquire whether the history of Hebrew
literature lends its support to Wellhausen's theory of the
origin of the Pentateuch. He claims that it does. He
affirms that, excluding the books of the Pentateuch, and
taking into account the older literature, preserved almost
intact in the historical books of the Prophets, only one half
of the Old Testament is pre-exilic,¹ since the Books of Kings
did not receive their present form until after the exile,² and
the greater part of the third division of the Old Testament
Canon, the Sacred Writings, is post-exilic.³ He holds that
Hebrew literature did not begin before the ninth century
B.C.,⁴ and that the common notion that the exilic and post-
exilic period was comparatively barren of literary productions
is false, since it was really very fruitful.⁵ He holds therefore
that there is no inherent improbability of such a work as
the Priests' Code receiving its written form after the exile.

¹ *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. Berlin, 1883, p. 2.

² *Idem*, p. 1.

³ *Idem*, p. 1. Wellhausen says it cannot be proved that any part of the
Hagiographa was written before the exile.

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica*. New York, 1881, vol. xiii. p. 408.

⁵ *Prolegomena*, p. i.

What then is the testimony of Hebrew literature which is known to have been written before the exile with reference to the date of the Priests' Code?

Those parts of the Pentateuch which are known to have been written before the exile manifest only exceedingly problematical traces of it.¹ While the Deuteronomist knows nothing about it,² he evidently derives his materials from the Jehovist.³ There are no distinct traces of Deuteronomy in the prophetic writers before Jeremiah, but he is full of them. There are no indisputable traces of the Priests' Code in any prophetic work written before the exile. Ezekiel manifests no knowledge of the Priests' Code as a code, there are merely correspondences between the last nine chapters of his prophecy and the small code in Lev. xvii.-xxvi.

If it be maintained that certain passages in the historical books, aside from the priestly parts of Joshua, are favourable to the origin of the Priests' Code before the exile, as in Judges, Samuel and Kings, it is affirmed that these cannot be quoted, since they are the product of post-exilic glosses, or of a recension in a priestly spirit. For the same reason the prophecy of Joel, which has been regarded by the great majority of critics as one of the oldest prophecies, may not be quoted as favourable to the antiquity of the Priests' Code, since the latest criticism reverses this opinion, and maintains that it was written long after the exile.

Now while there is no certain trace of the Priests' Code in pre-exilic writings, the Jehovistic history in the Pentateuch represents the patriarchs as freely offering at various places in accordance with the provisions of the law in the Book of the Covenant. Likewise in the historical books, kings and prophets have no thought of displeasing God by offering sacrifice at various places. It is only after Solomon that a Deuteronomic redaction, contrary to the original

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. 12.

² *Idem*, p. 392.

³ *Idem*, pp. 13, 395 f.

form and spirit of the Book of Kings, blames the rulers for worshipping on the high places.

If now we turn to the narrative in the Book of the Four Covenants, we find that it differs remarkably from the Jehovistic record. There, in the Jehovistic record, the patriarchs offer sacrifices freely; here, in the Book of the Four Covenants, they do not venture to do so, and for the obvious reason, that in the mind of the author such a step would be illegitimate, as the true mode of sacrifice was yet to be revealed to Moses. There the patriarchs stand forth in their true colours, exhibiting all the faults and weaknesses of the children of their time; here they are pious Jews whose characters are above reproach. There is the most temperate use of numbers and genealogies; here are found the most exact enumerations of time and peoples, and the authors are never weary of tracing the relationship between father and son.

But these two books, so utterly different in spirit, are not our only means of comparison. The Book of Kings aside from its Deuteronomic and slight priestly redaction is in entire harmony with the Jehovistic parts of the Pentateuch, written with the same spirit and from the same religious standpoint. Running parallel with it is the Book of Chronicles, written long after the exile. The Book of Kings seeks to record the history of Israel, even after the establishment of the northern kingdom. It presents David and Solomon as they are, and does not withhold the dark background which has been a warning to men of all times. There are only the most casual references to worship, priests and Levites are never mentioned as two distinct classes. Beyond the usual scheme which it uses to indicate the royal succession, and the duration of reigns, it is sparing in its genealogies and its use of numbers. In Chronicles all is changed. It has no place for the northern kingdom, it is simply a history of the Jews. It knows only

one dynasty, that of David. From his character and that of his son every dark line is erased. It might almost be called a history of worship. Priests and Levites appear on every hand. It is at the same time a family register of every prominent Jew, and a census report of the Jewish nation. These are indeed striking peculiarities which have their roots in the Book of the Four Covenants in Genesis, and are all the more remarkable because they extend side by side from the creation until the exile, where the Book of Kings breaks off.

Such in the main are some of Wellhausen's reasons, although not stated in his language, or in the order of thought indicated by him, for holding that the Priest's Code was first committed to writing after the exile. It is unnecessary to say that he absolutely rejects the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The same is substantially true of all modern German critics. As he himself claims, the question whether the Priests' Code was written somewhat prior to the work of the Jehovist (800-750 B.C.) cannot be considered essential as affecting the authority of the Old Testament. He cannot conceive why his views should be so objectionable to those who simply date the Priests' Code before the exile instead of after it. The English and American theologian will be likely to agree with him in this.

There is however an undefinable something in his style, as the expression of his animus, which must give pain to every reverent student of the Old Testament as God's Word, for Wellhausen evidently regards it as nothing more than man's words, marking successive stages in a development. He mocks at every effort made to re-establish the Divine authority of the Old Testament, and is evidently out of sympathy with the supernatural view of miracle and prophecy. Whatever may be his feeling toward the Jehovistic writer, for whom he expresses admiration, he shows

his repugnance for the Priests' Code and Chronicles in scornful and sarcastic remarks. This is of course natural from his point of view, when he believes that the genealogies, chronologies, enumerations of armies, descriptions of the tabernacle and of Levitical worship as found in the Priests' Code and Chronicles are the invention of Jewish scribes, and that while the authors of the Jehovistic work and of Deuteronomy are not anxiously careful to show that their books were written upon the settlement in Canaan, the author of the Priests' Code uses every endeavour to make his work appear to have been written in the wilderness.

Such a theory of the Pentateuch, even when cleared of the offensive accessories with which Wellhausen surrounds it, is revolutionary not only of our whole conception of the origin of the Scriptures, but also of the history of Israel, and of Old Testament Theology, nor can it be denied that, if adopted, it must seriously affect our view of the New Testament.

It is indeed a question of fact, and of higher criticism, but other elements must enter into the problem. There are at least two postulates with which we should begin: that God is a factor in human history, and that as such we should expect that He would make a revelation of Himself to man. Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, and Babylonia may shed some light on the problem. Indeed light should be welcomed from whatever quarter it may come.

Nothing is to be gained by hasty answers, however well intended, or by attempting to belittle the chain of evidence which Wellhausen presents. From this point of view we have sought to exhibit his position in its full strength. The limits of this article do not admit of a reply, nor are we prepared to attempt one. It is our desire to master the subject in a historical way before taking it up in detail. The answer which may be made that will have weight will not be wrung from the Christian heart by the seeming neces-

sities of the case, but will be recognised as the truth and as such commend itself to evangelical Christian scholars.

Meanwhile if Wellhausen and his school are animated by an evangelical spirit they will sink their own personality out of sight, and cease to jeer at those who feel called upon to seek a view of the origin of the Old Testament, which does not cast such dishonour upon God's Word.

Let us remember, however, that we should not tremble for the ark of God, since a mightier hand than ours has it in keeping, and a wiser counsel than that which prompts our well meant endeavours can use the higher and the lower criticism not as ends, but as means for the furtherance of His plans.

In subsequent articles we may show how these critical views revolutionize the History of Israel and Old Testament Theology.

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

XIII.

THE TRUE CIRCUMCISION.

"In whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ; having been buried with Him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with Him through faith in the working of God, who raised Him from the dead. And you, being dead through your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, you, *I say*, did he quicken together with Him, having forgiven us all our trespasses."—COL. ii. 11-13 (Rev. Vers.).

THERE are two opposite tendencies ever at work in human nature to corrupt religion. One is of the intellect; the other of the senses. The one is the temptation of the cultured few; the other, that of the vulgar many. The one turns religion into theological speculation; the other, into a theatrical spectacle. But, opposite as these tendencies usually are, they were united in that strange chaos

of erroneous opinion and practice which Paul had to front at Colossæ. From right and from left he was assailed, and his batteries had to face both ways. Here he is mainly engaged with the error which insisted on imposing circumcision on these Gentile converts.

I. To this teaching of the necessity of circumcision, he first opposes the position that all Christian men, by virtue of their union with Christ, have received the true circumcision, of which the outward rite was a shadow and a prophecy, and that therefore the rite is antiquated and obsolete.

His language is emphatic and remarkable. It points to a definite past time—no doubt the time when they became Christians—when, because they were in Christ, a change passed on them which is fitly paralleled with that rite. This Christian circumcision is described in three particulars: as “not made with hands,” as consisting in “putting off the body of the flesh,” and as “of Christ.”

It is “not made with hands,” that is, it is not a rite but a reality, not transacted in flesh but in spirit. It is not the removal of ceremonial impurity, but the cleansing of the heart. This idea of ethical circumcision, of which the bodily rite is the type, is common in the Old Testament, as, for instance, “The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart . . . to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart” (Deut. xxx. 6). This is the true Christian circumcision.

It consists in the “putting off the body of the flesh”—for “the sins of” is an interpolation. Of course a man does not shuffle off this mortal coil when he becomes a Christian, so that we have to look for some other meaning of the strong words. They are very strong, for the word “putting off” is intensified so as to express a complete stripping off from oneself, as of clothes which are laid aside, and is evidently intended to contrast the partial outward

circumcision as the removal of a small part of the body, with the entire removal effected by union with Christ. If that removal of "the body of the flesh" is "not made with hands," then it can only be in the sphere of the spiritual life, that is to say, it must consist in a change in the relation of the two constituents of a man's being, and that of such a kind that, for the future, the Christian shall not live after the flesh, though he live in the flesh. "Ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit," says Paul, and again he uses an expression as strong as, if not stronger than that of our text, when he speaks of "the body" as "being destroyed," and explains himself by adding "that henceforth we should not serve sin." It is not the body considered simply as material and fleshly that we put off, but the body considered as the seat of corrupt and sinful affections and passions. A new principle of life comes into men's hearts which delivers them from the dominion of these, and makes it possible that they should live in the flesh, not "according to the lusts of the flesh, but according to the will of God." True, the text regards this divesting as complete, whereas, as all Christian men know only too sadly, it is very partial, and realised only by slow degrees. The ideal is represented here,—what we receive "in Him," rather than what we actually possess and incorporate into our experience. On the Divine side the change is complete. Christ gives complete emancipation from the dominion of sense, and if we are not in reality completely emancipated it is because we have not taken the things that are freely given to us, and are not completely "*in Him*." So far as we are, we have put off "the flesh." The change has passed on us if we are Christians. We have to work it out day by day. The foe may keep up a guerilla warfare after he is substantially defeated, but his entire subjugation is certain if we keep hold of the strength of Christ.

Finally, this circumcision is described as "of Christ," by

which is not meant that He submitted to it, but that He instituted it.

Such being the force of this statement, what is its bearing on the Apostle's purpose? He desires to destroy the teaching that the rite of circumcision was binding on Christian converts, and he does so by asserting that the Gospel has brought the reality, of which it was but a picture and a prophecy. The underlying principle is that when we have the thing signified by any Jewish rites, which were all prophetic as well as symbolic, the rite may—must go. It is an anachronism, "as if a flower should shut, and be a bud again." That is a wise and pregnant principle, but as it comes to the surface again immediately hereafter, and is applied to a whole series of subjects, we may defer the consideration of it, and rather dwell briefly on other matters suggested by this verse.

We notice, then, the intense moral earnestness which leads the Apostle here to put the true centre of gravity in Christianity in moral transformation, and to set all outward rites and ceremonies in a very subordinate place. What had Jesus Christ come from heaven for, and for what had He borne His bitter passion? To what end were the Colossians knit to Him by a tie so strong, tender and strange? Had they been carried into that inmost depth of union with Him, and were they still to be laying stress on ceremonies? Had Christ's work, then, no higher issue than to leave religion bound in the cords of outward observances? Surely Jesus Christ, who gives men a new life by union with Himself, which union is brought about through faith alone, has delivered men from that "yoke of bondage," if He has done anything at all. Surely they who are joined to Him should have a profounder apprehension of the means and the end of their relation to their Lord than to suppose that it is either brought about by any outward rite or has any reality unless it makes them pure

and good. From that height all questions of external observances dwindle into insignificance, and all question of sacramental efficacy drops away of itself. The vital centre lies in our being joined to Jesus Christ—the condition of which is faith in Him, and the outcome of it a new life which delivers us from the dominion of the flesh. How far away from such conceptions of Christianity are those which busy themselves on either side with matters of detail, with punctilios of observance, and pedantries of form! The hatred of forms may be as completely a form as the most elaborate ritual—and we all need to have our eyes turned away from these to the far higher thing, the worship and service of a transformed nature.

We notice again, that the conquest of the animal nature and the material body is the certain outcome of true union with Christ, and of that alone.

Paul did not regard, as these teachers at Colossæ did, matter as necessarily evil, nor think of the body as the source of all sin. But he knew that the fiercest and most fiery temptations came from it, and that the foulest and most indelible stains on conscience were splashed from the mud which it threw. We all know that too. It is a matter of life and death for each of us to find some means of taming and holding in the animal that is in us all. We all know of wrecked lives, which have been driven on the rocks by the wild passions rooted in the flesh. Fortune, reputation, health, everything is sacrificed by hundreds of men, especially young men, at the sting of this imperious lust. The budding promise of youth, innocence, hope, and all which makes life desirable and a nature fair, are trodden down by the hoofs of the brute. There is no need to speak of that. And when we come to add the weaknesses of the flesh, and the needs of the flesh, and the limitations of the flesh, and to remember how often high purposes are

frustrated by its shrinking from toil, and how often mists born from its undrained swamps darken the vision that else might gaze on truth and God, we cannot but feel that a man does not need to be an Eastern Gnostic to believe that goodness requires the flesh to be subdued. Every man who has sought for self improvement recognises the necessity. But no asceticisms and no resolves will do what we want. Much repression may be effected by sheer force of will, but it is like a man holding a wolf by the jaws. The arms begin to ache and the grip to grow slack, and he feels his strength going, and knows that, as soon as he lets go, the brute will fly at his throat. Repression is not taming. Nothing tames the wild beast in us but the power of Christ. He binds it in a silken lash, and that gentle constraint is strong, because the fierceness is gone. "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and a little child shall lead them." The power of union with Christ, and that alone, will enable us to put off the body of the flesh. And such union will certainly lead to such crucifying of the animal nature. Christianity would be easy if it were a round of observances; it would be comparatively easy if it were a series of outward asceticisms. Anybody can fast or wear a hair shirt, if he have motive sufficient; but the "putting off the body of the flesh" which is "not made with hands," is a different and harder thing. Nothing else avails. Highflown religious emotion, or clear theological definitions, or elaborate ceremonial worship, may all have their value; but a religion which includes them all, and leaves out the plain moralities of subduing the flesh, and keeping our heel well pressed down on the serpent's head, is worthless. If we are in Christ, we shall not live in the flesh.

II. The Apostle meets the false teaching of the need for circumcision, by a second consideration; namely, a

reference to Christian Baptism, as being the Christian sign of that inward change.

Ye were circumcised, says he—being buried with Him in baptism. The form of expression in the Greek implies that the two things are cotemporaneous. As if he had said—Do you want any further rite to express that mighty change which passed on you when you came to be “in Christ”? You have been baptised, does not that express all the meaning that circumcision ever had, and much more? What can you want with the less significant rite when you have the more significant? This introduction of Baptism is quite consistent with what has been said as to the subordinate importance of ritual. Some forms we must have, if there is to be any outward visible Church, and Christ has yielded to the necessity, and given us two, of which the one symbolises the initial spiritual act of the Christian life, and the other the constantly repeated process of Christian nourishment. They are symbols and outward representations, nothing more. They convey grace, in so far as they help us to realise more clearly and to feel more deeply the facts on which our spiritual life is fed, but they are not channels of grace in any other way than any other outward acts of worship may be.

We see that the form of Baptism is distinctly by immersion, and that the form is regarded as significant. All but entire unanimity prevails among commentators on this point. The burial and the resurrection spoken of point unmistakably to the primitive mode of baptism, as Bishop Lightfoot, the latest and best English expositor of this book, puts it in his paraphrase: “Ye were buried with Christ to your old selves beneath the baptismal waters, and were raised with Him from these same waters, to a new and better life.”

We observe the solemnity and the thoroughness of the change thus symbolised. It is more than a circumcision.

It is burial and a resurrection, an entire dying of the old self by union with Christ, a real and present rising again by participation in His risen life. This and nothing less makes a Christian. We partake of His death, inasmuch as we ally ourselves to it by our faith, as the sacrifice for our sins, and make it the ground of all our hope. But that is not all. We partake of His death, inasmuch as, by the power of His cross, we are drawn to sever ourselves from the selfish life, and to slay our own old nature; dying for His dear sake to habits, tastes, desires, purposes in which we lived. Self-crucifixion for the love of Christ is the law for us all. His cross is the pattern for our conduct, as well as the pledge and means of our acceptance. We must die to sin that we may live to righteousness. We must die to self, that we may live to God and our brethren. We have no right to trust in Christ *for* us, except as we have Christ *in* us. His cross is not saving us from our guilt, unless it is moulding our lives to some faint likeness of Him who died that we might live, and live a real life by dying daily to the world, sin, and self.

If we are thus made conformable to His death, we shall know the power of His resurrection, in all its aspects. It will be to us the guarantee of our own, and we shall know its power as a prophecy for our future. It will be to us the seal of His perfect work on the cross, and we shall know its power as God's token of acceptance of His sacrifice in the past. It will be to us the type of our spiritual resurrection now, and we shall know its power as the pattern and source of our supernatural life in the present. Thus we must die in and with Christ that we may live in and with Him, and that twofold process is the very heart of personal religion. No lofty participation in the immortal hopes which spring from the empty grave of Jesus is warranted, unless we have

His quickening power raising us to-day by the better resurrection; and no participation in the present power of His heavenly life is possible, unless we have such a share in His death, as that by it the world is crucified to us, and we unto the world.

III. The Apostle adds another phase of this great contrast of life and death, which brings home still more closely to his hearers, the deep and radical change which passes upon all Christians. He has been speaking of a death and burial followed by a resurrection. But there is another death from which Christ raises us, by that same risen life imparted to us through faith—a darker and grimmer thing than the self-abnegation before described.

“And you, being dead through your trespasses, and the uncircumcision of your flesh.” The separate acts of transgression of which they had been guilty, and the unchastened, unpurified, carnal nature from which these had flowed were the reasons of a very real and awful death; or, as the parallel passage in Ephesians (ii. 2) puts it with a slight variation, they made the condition or sphere in which that death inhered. That solemn thought, so pregnant in its dread emphasis in Scripture, is not to be put aside as a mere metaphor. All life stands in union with God. The physical universe exists by reason of its perpetual contact with His sustaining hand, in the hollow of which all Being lies, and it is, because He touches it. “In Him we live.” So also the life of mind is sustained by His perpetual in-breathing, and in the deepest sense “we see light” in His light. So, lastly, the highest life of the spirit stands in union in still higher manner with Him, and to be separated from Him is death to it. Sin breaks that union, and therefore sin is death, in the very inmost centre of man’s being. The awful warning, “In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die,” was fulfilled. That separation by sin, in which the soul is wrenched from God, is the real

death, and the thing that men call by the name is only an outward symbol of a far sadder fact—the shadow of which that is the awful substance, and as much less terrible as painted fires are less than the burning reality.

So men may live in the body, and toil and think and feel, and be dead. The world is full of “sheeted dead,” that “squeak and gibber” in “our streets,” for every soul that lives to self and has rent itself away from God, so far as a creature can, is “dead while he liveth.” The other death, of which the previous verse spoke, is therefore but the putting off of a death. We lose nothing of real life in putting off self, but only that which keeps us in a separation from God, and slays our true and highest being. To die to self is but “the death of death.”

The same life which the previous verse spoke of as coming from the risen Lord is here set forth as able to raise us from that death of sin. “He hath quickened you together with Him.” Union with Christ floods our dead souls with His own vitality, as water will pour from a reservoir through a tube inserted in it. There is the actual communication of a new life when we touch Christ by faith. The prophet of old laid himself upon the dead child, the warm lip on the pallid mouth, the throbbing heart on the still one, and the contact rekindled the extinguished spark. So Christ lays His full life on our deadness, and does more than recall a departed glow of vitality. He communicates a new life kindred with His own. That life makes us free here and now from the law of sin and death, and it shall be perfected hereafter when the working of His mighty power shall change the body of our humiliation into the likeness of the body of His glory, and the leaven of His new life shall leaven the three measures in which it is hidden, body, soul, and spirit, with its own transforming energy. Then, in yet higher sense, death shall die, and life shall be victor by His victory.

But to all this there is one preliminary needful—"having forgiven us all trespasses." Paul's eagerness to associate himself with his brethren, and to claim his share in the forgiveness, as well as to unite in the acknowledgment of sin, makes him change his word from "you" to "us." So the best manuscripts give the text, and the reading is obviously full of interest and suggestiveness. There must be a removal of the cause of deadness before there can be a quickening to new life. That cause was sin, which cannot be cancelled as guilt by any self-denial however great, nor even by the impartation of a new life from God for the future. A gospel which only enjoined dying to self would be as inadequate as a gospel which only provided for a higher life in the future. The stained and faultful past must be cared for. Christ must bring pardon for the past, as well as a new spirit for the future. So the condition prior to our own being quickened together with Him is God's forgiveness, free and universal, covering all our sins, and given to us without anything on our part. That condition is satisfied. Christ's death brings to us God's pardon, and when the great barrier of unforgiven sin is cleared away, Christ's life pours into our hearts, and "everything lives whithersoever the river cometh."

Here then we have the deepest ground of Paul's intense hatred of every attempt to make anything but faith in Christ and moral purity essential to the perfect Christian life. Circumcision and baptism and all other rites or sacraments of Judaism or Christianity are equally powerless to quicken dead souls. For that the first thing needed is the forgiveness of our sins, and that is ours through simple faith in Christ's death. We are quickened by Christ's own life in us, and He "dwells in our hearts by faith." All ordinances may be administered to us a hundred times, and without faith they leave us as they found us—dead. If we have hold of Christ by faith we live, whether we have received

the ordinances or not. So all full blown or budding sacramentarianism is to be fought against to the uttermost, because it tends to block the road to the City of Refuge for a poor sinful soul, and the most pressing of all necessities is that that way of life should be kept clear and unimpeded.

We need the profound truth which lies in the threefold form which Paul gives to one of his great watchwords: "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God." And how, says my despairing conscience, shall I keep the commandments? The answer lies in the second form of the saying—"In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." And how, replies my saddened heart, can I become a new creature? The answer lies in the final form of the saying—"In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh." Faith brings the life which makes us new men, and then we can keep the commandments. If we have faith, and are new men and do God's will, we need no rites but as helps. Without these all rites are nothing.

ALEXANDER MACLAREN.

*THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD
TESTAMENT.*

THE BOOKS OF JUDGES AND RUTH.

THE aim of these papers is to call attention to some of the more important changes in the Revised Version, to offer some explanation of the reasons for them, and to point out the difference of meaning involved. The limits of space must necessarily make these notes brief and incomplete, but

I hope that they will stimulate rather than supersede further study.

Let me say once for all, that when I venture to dissent from the Revisers' conclusions, it is in no spirit of captious criticism, and with a clear sense that it is somewhat presumptuous for an individual to do so. It only means that he votes with a minority, perhaps a very small one: and possibly, if he had been privileged to hear the arguments, he would have been converted to the view of the majority. Opinions will necessarily differ as to whether the Revisers have done all that might have been expected, but no one can study their work without constant recognition of the unwearied diligence and sober judgment with which they have accomplished their difficult and delicate task.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

i. 8. The pluperfect rendering of the A. V. "had gone," was doubtless due to the supposition that the preceding verse implies that Jerusalem had already been captured. But it is grammatically untenable (see Prof. Driver's *Tenses*, p. 105), and the natural sense of the passage is that the victorious Israelites carried their prisoner Adoni-bezek with them on their southward march as far as Jerusalem. The narrative of *vs.* 7, 8, 9 is consecutive.

9. Note the improved rendering of geographical terms.

15. The text is preferable to the margin. It is doubtful whether the suffix of *נְתַתְנִי* can be taken as a dative; and moreover only Hebron and its neighbourhood, not the whole district of the *Negeb* or South, was Caleb's portion. The *Negeb* was dry and barren, and Achsah makes the very reasonable request that as her father was sending her to dwell there, he should add to her husband's portion the precious gift of springs of water.

16. *Moses' brother in law*, namely Hobab; chap. iv. 11. *חַתָּן* signifies *a relation by marriage*, and may certainly

mean *father in law*, chap. xix. 4, 7, 9: but as Hobab was the son of Reuel (Num. x. 29), Moses' father in law, it is necessary to render *brother in law* here.

24. *The watchers*, i.e. the "spies," who had gone in sufficient numbers to besiege the city, though they would not venture to attack it until the man whom they found stealing out showed them some unguarded entrance.

30. *Tributary*, rather as in marg. *subject to taskwork*. צָרִים certainly means, (1) taskwork, or (2) the "levy" or corvée of workmen set to such forced labour, though in Aramaic and later Hebrew it also means "tribute." The employment of these Canaanites by Solomon is mentioned in 1 Kings ix. 20, 21.

ii. 1. *The*, not *an*, angel, as in v. 23; vi. 11 ff.; xiii. 3 ff., for the title is used of one who represented Jehovah in a special way. See Oehler's *O. T. Theology*, i. § 59. This is probably right, for the angel speaks as if God were speaking, without any preface of "Thus saith the LORD," but the marg. "messenger" is retained in deference to the opinion of many commentators, and Jewish tradition as old as the Targum, which paraphrases "a prophet sent from Jehovah."

2. *Why have ye done this?* should surely have been altered to "What is this that ye have done?" an expression of astonishment at the baseness of their apostasy, not an inquiry as to the reason for it. Comp. the same phrase in Gen. iii. 13.

3. The text is corrupt. Either as A.V. and R.V. both assume, some such word as *thorns* has been lost (cf. Num. xxxiii. 55; Josh. xxiii. 17), or, as the marg. suggests, for צָרִים "sides" should be read צָרִים "adversaries," with Sept., Targ., Vulg.

7. *The great work of the Lord*. All the separate *works* (Deut. xi. 3) of the Lord for Israel are regarded as forming one great whole, a connected scheme:

11, 13. *The Baalim . . . the Ashtaroth.* Baalim, the plural of Baal, denotes the various forms or names under which Baal, the supreme deity of the Canaanites and Phœnicians, was worshipped in different localities (Baal Peor, Baal Berith, Baal Zebub, and the like): Ashtarôth, the plural of Ashtôreth, the various forms of the corresponding female deity.

10. *The LORD, the God of their fathers.* Cf. iv. 6, "the LORD, the God of Israel." This slight change helps to remind the reader that LORD represents the proper name JEHOVAH, and is not a mere appellative.

20. *This nation.* There is a touch of rebuke in the use of the phrase, "this nation." Israel had degraded itself from its high position as the Lord's people to the level of an ordinary "nation."

iii. 5. *The Canaanites.* As *the Hittite* follows without the conjunction *and*, *Canaanites* may here be a general term for the inhabitants of the country, who are then specially described by their national names; but the marginal rendering is certainly possible, and in Exod. iii. 8, and elsewhere, the Canaanites seem to be mentioned as a separate nation.

7. *The Asheroth.* On the Asherah, and the mistranslation of the A.V. following the LXX. and Vulg., see Dr. Driver's note on Exod. xxxiv. 13.

9, 15. *A saviour.* So A.V. in 2 Kings xiii. 5; Neh. ix. 27. The suggestiveness of the right rendering is obvious.

10. Here and elsewhere the R.V. rightly prints *spirit*, not *Spirit*, as in A.V. "The spirit of the LORD" in the O.T. is a power proceeding from Him, but is not yet revealed as a distinct "Person." The way is prepared in the O.T. for the N.T. revelation of the Trinity, but that revelation is not yet made, and it is a mistake to read N.T. doctrine into the O.T. See Oehler's *O. T. Theology*, i. § 65.

19, 26. *Quarries.* The word פְּסִילִים occurs 20 times

in the O.T., and always in the sense given in the margin, *graven images*. So the LXX. and Vulg.; and it would have been safer to retain the established meaning of the word in the text. The meaning of "quarries," which is noticed by Jerome, and is adopted by most Jewish commentators, comes from the Targum. Can the Meturgemanim have preserved a true tradition of an exceptional meaning of the word, or were they offended by the idea of idols at Gilgal?

22. *And it came out behind.* The meaning is very obscure, and the text is possibly corrupt, the words **וַיֵּצֵא** **הַפְּרָשֶׁדָּנָה**, being an alternative for the first clause of ver. 23. If the text is sound, it is most natural to take Ehud to be the subject of **וַיֵּצֵא** here, as in the next verse (the words for "came out" and "went forth" are the same); and the marginal rendering appears to be preferable.

25, 26. *Tarried. . . tarried.* Why not represent the distinction of words in the original? The second (**הַתְּמַהְמָה**) seems to express the lingering delay of irresolution. Cf. Gen. xix. 16; xliii. 10 (linger); Jud. xix. 8 (tarry).

iv. 11. *The oak in Zaananim.* On "oak" for "plain" see Dr. Driver's note on Gen. xii. 6. "Zaanaim" (A.V.) is the C'thib, "Zaananim" the K'ri, agreeing with Josh. xix. 33.

21. *So he swooned and died.* The construction points to this connexion of the words. But on the other hand **וַיֵּעַף** elsewhere means "to be faint" or "weary" (1 Sam. xiv. 28, 31; 2 Sam. xxi. 15), not "to swoon away," and the accents connect it with "in a deep sleep." Should we read **וַיֵּעַף** and render as in the margin?

v. 2. *For that the leaders took the lead.* This is the rendering of the LXX. according to Cod. Alex., and some other MSS., and of Theodotion, from whose version it probably came into the MSS. of the LXX. The meaning "leaders," can be supported from the Arabic, and it suits the only other passage in which the word occurs (Deut.

xxxii. 42). The nobles and the people are contrasted as in *vs.* 9 (?), 10, 13. The A.V. (and before it the Genevan), follows Münster and the Jewish commentators in giving the words פִּרְעוֹת בַּפְּרַע, the sense which the root has in Aramaic. So too the Peshitto. But it destroys the parallelism of the clauses.

Bless for praise as in *v.* 9.

7. *The rulers ceased.* The A.V. (again following Münster's *habitatores villarum*), agrees with the Targum in regarding פְּרִיזוֹן, as equivalent to פְּרִיזוֹת, *villages*. But this meaning will not suit *v.* 11, the only other passage in which the word occurs. The marginal rendering "toward his villages," given there, can hardly stand. If the text is sound פְּרִיזוֹן is best rendered "rule" in *v.* 11, and here regarded as abstract for concrete "rulers." The same sense suits the cognate פְּרִיזִים (Hab. iii. 14), and is supported by LXX. *δυνατοί*, Vulg. *fortes*. In spite of such judges as Shamgar, the general condition of the country was one of anarchy until Deborah arose. Studer however points out, (1) that this rendering involves a contradiction to *v.* 6; "when Shamgar and Jael were judges, there was no judge:" (2) that חֲדָלוּ must be taken in a different sense from that which it has in *v.* 6; and perhaps we should follow him in reading פְּרִיזוֹת, and render as in R.V. marg. The words then forcibly describe the desolate state of the country, when no one dared to live in unfortified villages for fear of plunderers. But the text as it stands can hardly, in view of *v.* 11, be rendered otherwise than in R.V.

9. A third translation deserves consideration.

"My heart is towards the governors of Israel,
Towards them that offered themselves."

The verse would then be exactly parallel to *v.* 2.

10. *Ye that sit on rich carpets.* The A.V. follows LXX., Vulg., Targ.; but מְיֻדִין can hardly be יְדִין, with prep. מִן, or a subst. with preformative כִּי. It is an Aramaic plur. of יָד, *carpet*.

which means "garment" or "carpet," such as rich men sit upon. Three classes of men, poetically representing the whole people, are summoned to celebrate Israel's deliverance: wealthy nobles, who now ride fearlessly along the highways; rich men, who enjoy the comforts of their homes in undisturbed peace; the ordinary folk, who go afoot, and can now travel from place to place without fear of molestation.

11. Very obscure. The text of the R.V. leaves the sense of the first two clauses substantially unchanged. The people who had formerly stolen out to draw water at the risk of their lives from the archers of the enemy, now congregate undisturbed round the wells to celebrate the Lord's righteousness manifested in His deliverance of Israel. This is probably right. In the marginal alternative "the archers" are those of Israel, who are represented as encamped by the wells and celebrating their victory; and in gratitude for this all are bidden to join in praising the Lord.

His rule. See on *v.* 7.

Went down, not *shall go down*, is the correct translation. So already the Genevan, "did . . . go down." The meaning is either that the Israelites came down from their mountain fastnesses to attack the cities of their enemies, or that after the defeat of the Canaanites they returned to dwell peaceably in their own cities. As "then" in *vv.* 13, 19, 22 refers to the time of the war of independence, the first explanation is perhaps best. The mention of thanksgiving for deliverance in the first part of the verse carries the poet's mind back to the course of the war which freed Israel, and she proceeds to describe it in the second part of the song, *vv.* 12-31.

13. The Massoretic division and punctuation of this verse, which the A.V. follows, bristle with difficulties. יָרַד is pointed as imperf. Piel of רָדָה, which does not occur elsewhere, and rendered in the A.V., after the Jewish

commentators, "made to have dominion." This, as the traditional Jewish interpretation, has been thought still to deserve a place in the margin. But in the text the Revisers have rightly treated יָרַד as the perfect of יָרַד, "went down." Whether the anomalous pointing is to be retained or altered to the usual יָרַד, they had not to decide. "Among the people" (A.V.) is an impossible rendering, and if we retain the Massoretic accentuation, the only course is to supply *and* as the R.V. does. The construction is a somewhat harsh asyndeton. But it seems much better to desert the Massoretic accents, and connecting עם with יהוה, render as in the margin, "the people of the Lord." There is then a contrast between the nobles and the people, as in *v.* 2. The nobles were but a remnant, for some cowardly remained at home. Cf. the LXX.: τότε κατέβη κατάλειμμα τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς λαὸς κυρίου κατέβη αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς κραταιοῖς. But I cannot help thinking that Studer's rendering is the right one:

"Then came down a remnant to meet the strong:

The people of the LORD came down for me against the mighty."

There is then an exact parallelism between "remnant" and "people," "strong" and "mighty": the latter terms both refer to the Canaanites: and Deborah extols the heroism of the ten thousand, who, a mere handful or remnant compared with Sisera's host, dared to come down and face them in the field.¹

14. *They whose root is in Amalek.* The Ephraimites who had settled (Isa. xxvii. 6) in the part of their territory known, probably from some ancient colony of Amalekites there, as "the hill country of the Amalekites" (chap. xii. 15).

14. *Staff* of office, not *pen*, is the meaning of שֵׁבֶט,

¹ The American Revisers would place another alternative in the margin, taking יָרַד as an anomalous form of the imperative. "Then go down, O remnant, for the nobles. . . . O Jehovah, go down for me against the mighty."

and סֹפֵר, lit. "scribe" or "enumerator," denoting the officer who counted and mustered the troops, is happily translated *marshal*. Cf. 2 Kings xxv. 19; Isa. xxxiii. 18; Jer. xxxvii. 15.

15, 16. *Watercourses* or "streams" is the meaning of the word פְּלִגִּיּוֹת in Job xx. 17, the only other place in which it occurs. Reuben heard the great news of the bold enterprise of his brethren as he fed his flocks beside the streams of the *Belka*; conscience pricked him, and he made magnanimous resolves to go to their help, but courage failed him to translate words into action.

17. *Shore* (marg.), not *haven*, is the best attested meaning of חוֹף. See Gen. xlix. 13. *Creeks*, lit. places where the sea *breaks* into the coast: hence the rendering of the A. V.

26. *Nail*, i.e. as in marg., *tent-pin*, which the American Revisers would place in the text. Cf. chap. iv. 21, 22.

26. *Smote off* in A.V. is a mistranslation, and necessitated the further ungrammatical rendering *when she had pierced, etc.* It is a pity that the Revisers did not see their way to a more exact rendering of the tenses, which give a vivid picture of Jael in the act of stretching out her hand. "See! she putteth her hand . . . she smiteth through his head, yea, she pierceth and striketh through his temples." Cf. Dr. Driver's *Tenses*, § 27. But poetry cannot be translated any more than Raphael's pictures can be copied.

27. *Dead*. Why not as A.V. marg. *destroyed*, which is what the word means? Cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 8.

29. *Her wise ladies*. Lit. "The wisest of her princesses." The tense is again pictorial, "answer." The marginal rendering, "Yet she repeateth her words unto herself," is very attractive. It describes very forcibly the anxious disquietude of Sisera's mother, still foreboding ill, in spite of her ladies' endeavours to console her. But, (1) אַף adds; it does not contrast: it means *yea*, not *yet*: (2) הַשִּׁיב אֲנִי אֵלֶיךָ

is the poetical equivalent of **השיב דברים**, which regularly means "to answer," not "to repeat"; and it has this meaning in the only other place where it occurs, Prov. xxii. 21.

vi. 3. The Revisers should have made it clear that invasions repeated year after year are described. Would "used to come up" (as in chap. xiv. 10), have been too clumsy?

11. *The not an angel.* See on ii. 1.

13. *Wondrous works.* "Miracle" occurs in the A.V. of the O.T. six times only: (1) twice for **אֵיֹת** (Num. xiv. 22; Deut. xi. 3), commonly and rightly rendered "sign," which the R.V. gives in these places also; (2) twice in the text, and once in the margin, for **מוֹפֵת** (Exod. vii. 9; Deut. xxix. 3; 2 Chron. xxxii. 24 marg.), usually rendered "wonder," and so the R.V. in Exod. and Deut.; in Chron. "sign," marg. "wonder"; (3) here only for **נִפְלְאוֹת**, elsewhere rendered in A.V. "wonders," "marvels," "wondrous works" or "things," "wonderful works," "marvellous works" or "things," all of which various renderings are still to be found in the R.V., though a few changes have been made for the sake of uniformity in the same chapter. Opinions will differ as to whether this is not a case in which the principle of "assimilation" of renderings should have been more thoroughly carried out. Some readers may object to the elimination of the word "miracles" from the O.T. Clearly, however, the word could not have been retained for **אֵיֹת** or **מוֹפֵת**, for which "sign" and "wonder" are the proper renderings; nor as an isolated rendering in the present passage. The application of the same term to exceptional works of Providence (as here; Exod. iii. 20; xxxiv. 10), and to the regular operations of nature (Job xxxvii. 14; cf. v. 9; ix. 10), is exceedingly instructive. Both alike excite the wonder and reverent awe of the beholder, and reveal God to him.

vii. 8. The Hebrew text is almost certainly corrupt.

“People” in *v.* 7 means the army in general; but the subject to “took” in *v.* 8 must be the three hundred. The marginal rendering is that of the Sept. and Targ., but it is not quite satisfactory. The sense would be that the three hundred took store of provisions and trumpets from the people; as Jerome paraphrases, “sumptis itaque pro numero cibariis et tubis.”¹

23. *Were gathered together.* The verb means literally “were cried together.” See A.V. marg., chap. x. 17. Might not this have been retained? The “Land-Fyrd” was literally “called out.”

viii. 13. *From the ascent of Heres.* הֶרֶס (Heres) may mean *sun* (xiv. 18), but מִלְמַעְלָה cannot mean either “before the rising” (Vulg. and Jewish commentators), or “setting” (Targ.) “of the sun.” The R.V. is certainly right; compare LXX. (Cod. Alex.), ἀπὸ ἀναβάσεως ἁρέος. Gideon pursued the Midianites as far as (ל) the pass known as the ascent of Heres, and returned from thence (ב). The spot has not been identified, but for Heres in proper names, see i. 35; ii. 9; and for “ascent,” i. 36.

16. *Taught.* וַיִּדַע is probably a corruption for וַיִּדָּשׁ, “threshed,” as in *v.* 7. So the LXX. ἠλόγησεν (Cod. Vat.), κατέξανεν (Cod. Alex.), Vulg. *contrivit*. Textual probabilities are very evenly balanced. On the one hand we should expect the same word as in *v.* 7; on the other hand this very fact would dispose the ancient versions to introduce it, if a different word was used.

21, 26. *Crescents.* Cf. Isa. iii. 18.

ix. 2. *The men of Shechem.* Literally “the lords” or “masters”: בְּעֵלֵי שֵׁכֶם. So throughout this chapter, including *vv.* 46, 47, “men of the tower,” and 51, “they of

¹ Is it too bold to conjecture פָּרִי for צָרָה? The letters are not unlike in some of the archaic types of alphabet. “They took the pitchers of the people . . . and their trumpets” would mean that in readiness for his stratagem (*v.* 16), Gideon, before dismissing his army, made the three hundred provide themselves with pitchers and trumpets.

the city"; also in Josh. xxiv. 11, "men of Jericho"; Jud. xx. 5, "men of Gibeah"; 1 Sam. xxiii. 11, 12, "men of Keilah"; 2 Sam. xxi. 12, "men of Jabesh-Gilead." Whether the term denotes the governing body of the citizens, as distinguished from the mass of the inhabitants, as *v.* 51, and 1 Sam. xxiii. 11 compared with *v.* 5, appear to show; or the citizens in general, may be doubtful; but the distinction between this word and the ordinary word for "men," *e.g.* "men of Israel," *v.* 55; "men of Jabesh-Gilead," 2 Sam. ii. 4, 5, ought to have been marked in the R.V.

9. *Wherewith by me they honour God and man.* Can this sense be got out of the Hebrew? The margin is certainly preferable, and is parallel to *v.* 13. Cf. LXX. (Cod. Alex.), τὴν πίστιντά μου ἦν ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐδόξασεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωποι, and Vulg. "pinguedinem meam qua et dii utuntur et homines." So Coverdale, "My fatnesse which both God and men commende in me."

44. *The companies.* The correct translation introduces a difficulty. Abimelech divided his men into three companies; two were in the field, only one can have been with him. The Authorised Translators felt the difficulty, and boldly substituted "company" for "companies." Probably the text is corrupt; perhaps אֲנָשִׁים, "the men," should be read for אֲרָאָשִׁים, "the companies."

52. *Went hard*, i.e. near. Is not this a "misleading archaism"? It is the only place in which the word, which simply means "approach," is so translated in the A.V.

53. *Brake.* The archæologist's pet word, "all to," disappears. It has no equivalent in the Hebrew.

xi. 37. *Go down upon the mountains.* The A.V. avoids the apparent difficulty by an unjustifiable translation. But the construction is a pregnant one. Mizpah was on a hill; she would descend from it first, and then go up again upon the surrounding mountains.

39. *And she had not known man.* So already the Geneva, "shee had knowen no man." This, which is unquestionably the correct translation, makes it clear that Jephthah sacrificed his daughter in accordance with his vow. The rendering of the A.V. seems intended to favour the old interpretation that he compromised the matter by devoting her to perpetual virginity.

40. *To celebrate.* This, and not the margin, is right. In chap. v. 11, the only other passage where the word occurs, it is rendered *rehearse*. Thought is directed, not to Jephthah's rash vow, but to the maiden's heroism; and the best commentary on the passage is to be found in Tennyson's noble lines in *A Dream of Fair Women*:—

"My words leapt forth: 'Heaven heads the count of crimes
With that wild oath.' She rendered answer high:
'Not so, nor once alone; a thousand times
I would be born and die.'"

The whole passage (stanzas xlv.-lxi.) should be read.

xii. 14. *Sons' sons.* The A.V. *nephews* is an archaism for grandsons.

xiii. 12. *What shall be, etc.* Manoah's question refers to the angel's message in *vv.* 4, 5. He asks for repeated direction and assurance. "The manner of the child" refers to the command to bring him up as a Nazirite: "his work" to the promise that he should be the deliverer of Israel. The margin, "how shall we do unto him," makes *כַּעֲשֶׂהוּ* the equivalent of *מַה-נַּעֲשֶׂה לְנֶעַר* in *v.* 8, but it is questionable whether the words can mean this, and the sense given in the text is preferable.

18, 19. *Wonderful . . . wondrously.* Cf. Isa. ix. 6; Exod. xv. 11, etc., and the note on vi. 13.

xiv. 15. *On the seventh day.* It is no doubt possible to explain this reading. The guests puzzled over the riddle for three days, and then gave it up until the seventh day, when they became desperate, and threatened Samson's wife.

Meanwhile she had all the time been trying to persuade him to tell her (v. 16), though she did not succeed until the seventh day (v. 17). But *fourth*, the reading of the LXX. and Syriac, is certainly probable, and it only requires the change of a single letter. (השבועי for הרביעי). The guests naturally applied to Samson's wife as soon as they gave up trying to guess the riddle themselves. The chief objection to this reading is its obviousness, but the canon *preferatur lectio ardua* may be overstrained. And there is another almost certain error in the text of the verse. The word הלא "is it not so," stands most awkwardly at the end of the verse, and with some MSS. and the Targum we should probably read הלא, "hither," and render "called us hither to impoverish us." There is a note in Cod. 154, to the effect that the scholars of Sora read הלא in the text and הלא in the margin, while those of Nahardea read הלא in the text, and הלא in the margin. See De Rossi, *Var. Lect.*, ii. 125.

xv. 13. *Ropes for cords*: the same word as in chapter xvi. 11.

17. *Ramath-Lehi*. Etymologically, the name as pointed in the Massoretic text can only mean "the hill of the jawbone;" but the writer may intend to suggest an allusion to רמה, *rámáh*, to throw (Exod. xv. 1, 21), with reference to the casting away of the jawbone. True the word he uses for "cast away" is different—וישליך—but the Targum in rendering it by רמא distinctly suggests the connexion. Cf. Prof. Driver's note on Gen. iv. 25.

19. *The hollow place that is in Lehi*. מכתש, *maktesh*, means literally "a mortar" (Prov. xxvii. 22). It was the name of some hollow or valley in or near Jerusalem (Zeph. i. 11); and here denotes a mortar-shaped hollow or basin in Lehi. The Jewish interpreters explain it to mean *the socket of a tooth* or *a tooth*, and so the Vulg. *molarem dentem*; but against this explanation are: (1) the definite article,

(2) the form of expression *which is in*, not simply *of*, (3) the fact that the spring was permanent.

xvi. 2. *And it was told.* No ingenuity can defend the integrity of the Hebrew text here. Some such word as וַיִּגֵּד has fallen out. All the ancient versions express it.

5. *Wherein, etc.* Lit. "Wherein" or "whereby his strength is great."

Afflict. Vulg. *affligere*: but "humble" or "subdue" expresses the sense.

7. *Green withes.* יֵתֶר means elsewhere: (1) tent-cord, (2) bowstring, (3) bridle-rein. The rendering *withes* is suggested by the description "green" (elsewhere applied to vegetable products, Gen. xxx. 37; Num. vi. 3), "fresh," "that were never dried;" but the marg. "bowstrings," i.e. cords of sinew or catgut, is certainly possible. LXX. *νευραί*; Vulg. *nervicei funes*.

18. *Me.* לִי K'ri: and so LXX., Vulg., Targ., Syr.: *her*, לה C'thib, due to a careless scribe repeating כִּי הֵגִיד לָהּ אֵת כָּל לִבּוֹ, "that he had told her all his heart," from the line above.

28. *Be at once avenged*: i.e. not *immediately*, but *once for all*. So LXX., Vulg., Targ., treating אַחַת as if it agreed with נָקַם: and this certainly gives the best sense. But נָקַם is masc., and נָקַם אַחַת, "a vengeance of one," for "one final vengeance" is very questionable. If the text is sound, אַחַת must, it would seem, refer to עֵין, and the words must be translated as in the margin. Rashi and Kimchi refer to the Talmudic explanation: "Reserve the revenge for the other eye in the world to come, but grant the revenge here for one of the twain;" which at any rate shows how it was understood by the ancient Rabbis. In either case the reflexive force of the Niphal, "avenge myself," should have been retained.

xviii. 7. *For there was none in the land, possessing authority, that might put them to shame in anything.* The

text is very obscure and perhaps corrupt. But a place should certainly have been found in the margin for an alternative rendering, which is grammatically and philologically possible, and better suited to the context. "They saw the people . . . how they dwelt in security . . . no man in the land doing any hurt: possessing wealth." וַאִין מְכַלִּים is a circumstantial clause, and must be treated as a parenthesis. For הַכְּלִים, to injure, cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 7. יִרְשׁ עֶצֶר agrees with הָעַם; and עֶצֶר, which occurs here only, is to be explained with Gesenius, Studer, and Bertheau, by the corresponding Arabic word meaning "abundance of possessions." Cf. the Vulg. *magnarum opum*. The meaning "authority" is derived from the use of the verb in 1 Sam. ix. 17, and is by no means certain. The text would be easier if יִרְשׁ עֶצֶר and בְּאַרְצוֹ . . . וַאִין might be transposed. Possibly a marginal gloss has made its way into the text: or, as is suggested in the *Speaker's Commentary* the words from "quiet" to "anything" are a quotation from another writer.

30. *The son of Moses.* The reading of the Massoretic text is מְנַשֶּׁה (M^NSH), with the note נִי תְלִייה, "Nun suspended" or written above the line. Without the *Nun*, the name would be מֹשֶׁה (MSH), *Moses*, and there can be no doubt that this is the true reading. Gershom was Moses' firstborn (Exod. ii. 22), and Jonathan is expressly described as a Levite, not a Manassite. Why then was the change in the text made? The reason is given in the Talmud, *Baba Bathra*, fol. 109 b (quoted by Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, p. 171), as follows: "Gershom is called the son of Manasseh: was he not the son of Moses? for it is written, 'The sons of Moses were Gershom and Eliezer.' But because he did the works of Manasseh [the idolatrous and apostate king of Judah], the Scripture hangs him on [תְּלִיא] to the family of Manasseh." The *Nun* must have been interpolated in very early times, for the LXX., Targ. and Syr.

read *Manassch*; though the Vulg. has *Moses*. But there was no intention of falsifying the text. As *bosheth* was substituted for *baal* in proper names (Ish-bosheth, etc.), to avoid pronouncing the hated word, so *Manassch* was read in place of *Moses*, to avoid what seemed like a disgrace to the great lawgiver.

xix. 1. *On the farther side*, from the house of the narrator, or from Bethlehem. But יִרְכַּתִּי may mean simply the "recesses" of the hill country.

22. *Sons of Belial*. It is a great pity that the Revisers, after translating correctly *base fellows* (with marg. "Heb. sons of worthlessness") in Deut. xiii. 13, should have gone back in the historical books to the erroneous rendering of the A.V., which follows the Vulg. Elsewhere they have treated the word rightly, rendering *ungodliness* (marg. Heb. *Belial*) in Ps. xviii. 4 (2 Sam. xxii. 5); *an evil disease*, as A.V., (with marg. *some wicked thing*), Ps. xli. 8; *base thing* (no marg.) Ps. ci. 3; *worthless* in Prov. vi. 12; xvi. 27; xix. 28 (with no margin); *wickedness* and *wicked*, with marg. (*worthlessness*, Heb. *Belial*), in Nah. i. 11, 15. No doubt by the help of the A.V. and Milton (*Par. Lost*, i. 490 ff.) *Belial* has come to be to the English reader an impersonation of subtle and malicious wickedness; but this hardly seems to be a justification for perpetuating him, and the American Revisers are certainly right in wishing that he should be banished altogether.

18. *To Beth-el* (cf. vv. 26, 31; xxi. 2). The A.V. follows the Vulg. (*in domum Dei, hoc est in Silo*) in a rendering based on the assumption that the ark must have been at Shiloh. But, (1) "the house of God" is בֵּית־הָאֱלֹהִים (*bêth hâelôhim*), as in xviii. 31, not בֵּית־אֵל, which always denotes the place Beth-el; (2) *there* in v. 27 implies the mention of a place in the preceding verse; (3) the place was no great distance from Gibeah, for the people could go and return in the day, vv. 19, 23, 26, which suits Beth-el but

not the more distant Shiloh. There was a sanctuary at Beth-el (1 Sam. x. 3), but why the ark was there at this time can only be conjectured.

28. *Or shall I cease.* Why not, as in 1 Kings xxii. 6, 15, "shall I forbear?"

48. *Both the entire city.* The Massoretic reading is מְעִיר מְתָם, but מְתָם elsewhere means "soundness," and it is very doubtful whether it can mean "the entire city." The pointing should be changed to מְתָם, which is found in some MSS., and the words rendered *the inhabited city*, as in the margin.

xxi. 5. *Assembly for congregation*, as in v. 8 and xx. 2.

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

i. 15. *Her god.* Chemosh, the tutelary god of Moab (Num. xxi. 29; 1 Kings xi. 33).

19. The women *said*. A touch of naturalness not to be missed. The verb is feminine.

ii. 3. *The portion of the field.* The share of the communal land held by Boaz. See an article on Land Tenure among the Hebrews, in the *Church Quarterly Review* for July, 1880.

iii. 16. *Who art thou.* The paraphrase in the margin, and the literal rendering in the text, might change places with advantage.

iv. 3. *The parcel of land.* The phrase is identical with that in ii. 3, and should be rendered in the same way, "the portion of the field."

Selleth. The verb is in the perfect tense, and though this may mean "has determined to sell," or "selleth," it is by no means clear that it does. The law of Redemption (Lev. xxv. 25 ff.) applied to land which had been actually sold by its owner under stress of poverty. Ruth's going to glean in the field of Boaz does not look as if Naomi still owned any

land, and she may have sold it while she was settled in Moab. It is true that *vv.* 5 and 9 speak of the transaction as a purchase direct from Naomi, and no third party who had purchased the land is mentioned; but redemption seems to imply that the land had been previously alienated.

5. *Thou must buy it also of Ruth.* The LXX. and Targ. attest the antiquity of this reading; but a comparison of *v.* 10 makes it very probable that the Vulg. and Syriac are right in reading "thou must buy also Ruth," *i.e.* נם את for ומאת, the change of a single letter.

15. *A restorer of life.* The same phrase is better rendered, "refresh the soul," in Prov. xxv. 13; Lam. i. 16.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

CHRISTUS CONSUMMATOR:

LESSONS FROM THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

II. THE DESTINY OF MAN FULFILLED BY CHRIST THROUGH SUFFERING.

"Not unto angels did He subject the world to come, whereof we speak. But one hath somewhere testified, saying,

What is man, that Thou art mindful of him?
 Or the Son of man, that Thou visitest Him?
 Thou madest Him a little lower than the angels;
 Thou crownedst Him with glory and honour,
 And didst set Him over the works of Thy hands:
 Thou didst put all things in subjection under His feet.

. . . But now we see not yet all things subjected to Him. But we behold Him who hath been made a little lower than the angels, even Jesus, because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour, that by the grace of God He should taste death for every man. For it became Him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the author of their salvation perfect through sufferings."—HEB. ii. 5-10 (Rev. Vers.).

IN these pregnant words we have a view of the destiny, the position, the hope of man, which answers alike to the noblest aspiration and to the saddest experience. We see

the purpose of God in creation, and the failure of the creature, and then the triumph of Christ through suffering, which is for us the pledge that the Divine counsel of love will not fail of fulfilment.

So the writer of the Epistle met at once the central difficulty of the Hebrews. The Hebrews since they believed had been doomed outwardly to the bitterest disappointment. They had looked for a national welcome and they found themselves outcasts; for sovereignty, and they were the victims of popular outrage; for visible triumph, and, as the years went on, they were required to endure *as seeing*, through the thicker gathering gloom, *Him who is invisible*.

Therefore the apostolic teacher, with abrupt and majestic eloquence, reaffirms in the beginning of his Epistle the glory of the Christian Faith, by disclosing a fuller prospect of the person and the work of Christ. Without preface and without salutation he opens the innermost treasury of God, and brings out things new and old. He shows how them anifold lessons of earlier revelation were crowned by the coming of Him who was not servant but Son, the Maker and Heir of the world. He shows how the angels, through whose ministry the Law was given, waited to do homage to Him, proclaimed King of the renovated order. He shows how our responsibility as Christians corresponds with the grandeur of the Truth which is placed within our reach. He shows how nothing is taken from the universal range of man's dominion, but—and this is his peculiar message—that it must be reached, that it has been reached, through suffering.

To this end He places in sharpest contrast the Psalmist's description of human destiny and the actual condition of things. He abates nothing of the inspired estimate of man's nature, and honour, and sovereignty. At the same time he claims no premature accomplishment of the promise assured to him. *We see not yet*, he confesses, *all*

things subjected to him. So far there is failure, failure though the Christ has come. *But we do behold . . . Jesus—the Son of man—because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour.* There is the spring and the pattern of attainment, the interpretation of the shame and of the Passion of the Christ, which is for all time the interpretation of every grief that clouds the world.

For, as we have already seen, the writer of the Epistle, when he met the difficulties of the Hebrews, meets difficulties which press sorely upon us. Time has not softened the sharpness of the impression which is made upon thoughtful spectators by the sight of the sorrows of life. If the contrast between man made *a little lower than angels*—nay literally *a little less than God*—and man as man has made him, was startling at the time when the Apostle wrote, it has not grown less impressive since. Larger knowledge of man's capacities and of his growth, of his endowments and of his conquests, has only given intensity to the colours in which poets and moralists have portrayed the conflict in his nature and in his life. Whether we look within or without, we cannot refuse to acknowledge both the element of nobility in man which bears witness to his Divine origin, and also the element of selfishness which betrays his fall. Every philosophy of humanity which leaves out of account the one or the other is shattered by experience. The loftiest enthusiasm leaves a place in its reconstruction of society where superstition may attach itself. Out of the darkest depths of crime not seldom flashes a light of self-sacrifice, like the prayer of the rich man for his brethren when he was in torments, which shows that all is not lost. We cannot accept the theory of those who see around them nothing but the signs of unlimited progress towards perfection, or the theory of those who write a sentence of despair over the chequered scenes of life. We look, as the Psalmist looked, at the sun

and the stars, with a sense which he could not have of the awful mysteries of the depths of night, but we refuse to accept space as a measure of being. We trace back, till thought fails, the long line of ages through which the earth was prepared to be our dwelling-place, but we refuse to accept time as a measure of the soul. We recognise without reserve the influence upon us of our ancestry and our environment, but we refuse to distrust the immediate consciousness of our personal responsibility. We do not hide from ourselves any of the evils which darken the face of the world, but we do not dissemble our kindred with the worst and lowest, whose life enters into our lives at a thousand points. We acknowledge that *the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now*, but we believe also that these travail pains prepare the joy of a new birth. We make no effort to cast off the riddles or the burdens of our earthly state, but we cling all the while to the highest thoughts which we have known as the signs of God's purpose for us and for our fellow-men. We allow that man and men are uncrowned or discrowned in the midst of their domain, but we hold that they cannot put off the prerogatives of their birth. We ask, as prophet and apostle asked: *What, O Lord, is man that Thou art mindful of him? or the son of man that Thou visitest him?* without any expectation that we shall find an answer to the questions; but none the less we proclaim what we know, and confess that He is mindful of us, that He has visited us, that *the Word became flesh and tabernacled among us, full of grace and truth.*

And indeed this Gospel reconciles the antagonisms of life. The fact of the Incarnation shows the possibilities of our nature as God made it. The fact of the Passion shows the issues of sin, which came from the self-assertion of the creature. The fact of the Resurrection shows the triumph of love through death. Christ, in a word, fulfilled

man's destiny, fellowship with God, by the way of sorrow; and the Divine voice appeals to us to recognise the fitness of the road. *It became Him*—most marvellous phrase—*It became Him for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory to make the Author of their salvation perfect through sufferings.*

When we ponder these words we shall all come to feel, I think, that they have a message for us on which we have not yet dwelt with the patient thought that it requires, though we greatly need its teaching. The currents of theological speculation have led us to consider the sufferings of Christ in relation to God as a propitiation for sin, rather than in relation to man as a discipline, a consummation of humanity. The two lines of reflection may be indeed, as I believe they are, more closely connected than we have at present been brought to acknowledge. I do not however wish now to discuss the propitiatory aspect of the sacrifice of Christ's life. It is enough for us to remember with devout thankfulness that *Christ is the propitiation not for our sins only, but for the whole world*, without further attempting to define how His sacrifice was efficacious. And we move on surer ground, when we endeavour to regard that perfect sacrifice from the other side, as the hallowing of every power of man under the circumstances of a sin-stained world, as the revelation of the mystery of sorrow and pain. Of this truth the writer of the Epistle assumes that we are competent judges. Again and again he presents the thought as the motive and the issue of the Incarnation. He shows that the Advent fulfilled the words of the Psalm: "*Lo! I am come to do Thy will, O Lord,*" . . . "*a body didst Thou prepare for me*"; and he describes the whole sum of the Lord's earthly work in a phrase which, if we can take it to our hearts, must become a transfiguring of life: *though He was Son, He*

yet learned obedience by the things which He suffered, and having been made perfect—perfect by suffering—He became to all that obey Him the Author of eternal salvation.

Yes, Christ, *though He was Son*, and therefore endowed with right of access for Himself to the Father, being of one essence with the Father, for man's sake, as man, won the right of access to the throne of God for perfected humanity. *He learnt obedience*, not as if the lesson were forced upon Him by stern necessity, but by choosing, through insight into the Father's will, that self-surrender even to the death upon the Cross which was required for the complete reconciliation of man with God. And the absolute union of human nature, in its fullest maturity, with the Divine in the one Person of our Creator and Redeemer, was wrought out in the very school of life in which we are trained.

When once we grasp this truth the records of the Evangelists are filled with a new light. Every work of Christ is seen to be a sacrifice and a victory. The long years of obscure silence, the short season of conflict, are found to be alike a commentary on the Lord's words, "*For their sakes I sanctify myself.*" And we come to understand how His deeds of power were deeds of sovereign sympathy; how the words in which Isaiah spoke of the Servant of the Lord, as "taking our infirmities and bearing our sicknesses," were indeed fulfilled when the Son of man healed the sick who came to Him, healed them not by dispensing from His opulence a blessing which cost Him nothing, but by making His own the ill which He removed.

Dimly, feebly, imperfectly, we can see in this way how it *became God to make the Author of our salvation perfect through sufferings*; how every pain which answered to the Father's will, became to Him the occasion of a triumph, the disciplining of some human power which needed to be

brought into God's service, the advance one degree farther towards the Divine likeness to gain which man was made; how, in the actual condition of the world, His love and His righteousness were displayed in tenderer grace and grander authority through the gainsaying of enemies; how, in this sense, even within the range of our imagination, *He saw of the travail of His soul and was satisfied.*

Dimly, feebly, imperfectly we can see also how Christ, Himself perfected through suffering, has made known to us once for all the meaning, and the value of suffering; how He has interpreted it as a Divine discipline, the provision of a Father's love; how He has enabled us to perceive that at each step in the progress of life it is an opportunity; how He has left to us to realise "in Him" little by little the virtue of His work; *to fill up on our part*, in the language of St. Paul, *that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ* in our sufferings, not as if His work were incomplete or our efforts meritorious, but as being living members of His Body through which He is pleased to manifest that which He has wrought for men.

For we shall observe that it was because He brought *many sons to glory*, that *it became God to make perfect through sufferings the Author of their salvation.* The fitness lay in the correspondence between the outward circumstances of His life and of their lives. The way of the Lord is the way of His servants. He enlightened the path which they must tread, and showed its end. And so it is that whenever the example of Christ is offered to us in Scripture for our imitation, it is His example in suffering. So far, in His strength, we can follow Him, learning obedience as He learned it, bringing our wills into conformity with the Father's will, and thereby attaining to a wider view of His counsel in which we can find rest and joy.

We must dare to face this solemn fact. For the most part we are tempted to look to the Gospel for the remission of the punishment of sins, and not for the remission of sins. But such a Gospel would be illusory. If the sin remains, punishment is the one hope of the sinner; if the sin is forgiven and the light of the Father's love falls upon the penitent, the punishment, which is seen as the expression of His righteous wisdom, is borne with gladness. Responsive love transfigures that which it bears. Pain loses its sting when it is mastered by a stronger passion. The true secret of happiness is not to escape toil and affliction, but to meet them with the faith that through them the destiny of man is fulfilled, that through them we can even now reflect the image of our Lord and be transformed into His likeness.

For the power of love is not limited by its personal effects. It goes out upon others with a healing virtue. Not only does the mother know no weariness in ministering to her child, but the sympathy of a friend can change the sorrow which it shares. So love kindles love; and in the world such as we see it, suffering feeds the purifying flame. Was I not right then when I said that the thought of Christ perfected through suffering, does indeed bring light into the darkest places of the earth? In that light, suffering, if I may so speak, appears as the fuel of love. Up to a certain point we can clearly perceive how the vicissitudes, the sadnesses, the trials of life, become the springs of its tenderness and strength and beauty; how the stress of the campaign calls out the devotion of him whom we had only known as a self-indulgent lounge; how a cry of wrong stirs the spirit of a nation with one resolve; how a cry of agony is answered by the spontaneous confession of human kinsmanship; how the truest joys which we have known have come when we have had grace to enter most entirely into a sorrow not our own.

And even where sight fails, the virtue of the Lord's life made perfect through suffering guides us still. We know that not one day of His hidden discipline was fruitless. Each had its lesson of obedience; each marked a fresh advance in the consummation of manhood. So taught, we can feel how the lonely sufferer is still a fellow-worker with Him; how in the stillness of the night-watches a sleepless voice of intercession, unheard by man, but borne to God by a "surrendered soul," may bring strength to combatants wearied with a doubtful conflict; how the word "one soweth and another reapeth," may find a larger application than we have dreamed of, so that when we wake up we may be allowed to see that not one pang in the innumerable woes of men has been fruitless in purifying energy.

Looking then to Christ, Born, Crucified, Risen, Ascended, we can look also on the chequered scene of human life without dissembling one dark trait or abandoning one hope, and claim, in spite of every sign of present disorder, the promise of man's universal dominion as the watchword of our labour. *We see not yet all things subjected to Him; but we behold . . . Jesus because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour. . .* And again looking at the conditions of our own life, we can confess through the experience of quickened love that the Gospel justifies itself: that *it became Him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Author of their salvation perfect through sufferings.*

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT.

THE BOOK OF ZECHARIAH.

I. THE FIRST THREE VISIONS.

IN the first two chapters of this Book there are recorded three visions, all of them of an encouraging character. They were seen by the prophet by night, and probably while he slept. And as in the vision of Dante, he represents himself as accompanied by a guide who interpreted to him all that he saw, so Zechariah, unable himself to understand the meaning of what he saw, is instructed by an angel that appeared to talk with him in his sleep.

In the first vision, Zechariah sees with all the vividness which characterizes the scenes to which dreams introduce us, a "bottom," or small plot of hollow, low-lying ground, planted with myrtle trees. It was probably an actual spot well known to the prophet; and if he was accustomed to retire to it for prayer, as our Lord retired among the olive trees outside Jerusalem, it becomes at once apparent how it should be this spot which was now suggested to him. For no doubt he had often in this quiet garden or plantation used the very words he now hears the angel of the Lord using, "O Lord of hosts, how long wilt Thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which Thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years?" Zechariah was a public-spirited man whom no private prosperity could compensate for the indignities his people were suffering during the dreary, ignominious years after their return to Jerusalem. This had been the burden of all his thoughts as he nervously paced under the shade of these myrtles; this his uniform cry as he cast himself perplexed and pained on the earth beneath them. It was this watching and praying, this taking upon himself the burden of his people, which enabled him at length to see what God was really preparing for them.

But familiar as was the myrtle grove, it was to-night

thronged with figures before unseen. The mounted scouts of Jehovah seemed to be gathering there to-night from all parts of the earth to give in their reports. These reports presented an unusual, a marvellous agreement. In every quarter there was peace and prosperity. The whole earth seemed to be enjoying a time of rest and golden weather. "All the earth sitteth still, and is at rest." It was the humbling contrast to this prosperous condition, in the mean appearance presented by the people of Israel, that struck their leader, the man on the red horse, and caused him to exclaim: "How long, amidst this universal prosperity, is Israel to be the strange and sorrowful exception? How is it that the one dark spot on the bright and joyful earth is precisely that spot where God's peculiar people dwell? Is God's inheritance the only kingdom which does not exhibit the marks of a beneficent government and a happy social condition?"

To this Intercessor—this horseman who watches over Israel,—God answers "with good words and comfortable words." This closes the vision; and then the interpreting angel bids Zechariah report to the people the substance or significance of it, to the effect that although God had given His people into the hand of their enemies that they might be chastised, yet these enemies had gone too far, had entered into the work of correction with too evident a zest, and had overstepped their commission; and that now God would compensate to His people for their sorrows.

The practical outcome or substantial meaning of this vision was this: that to every one who sees with eyes cleansed and directed aright, the Angel of the Lord, or God Incarnate, appears, ready mounted, prepared to interpose in His people's behalf, and watchfully receiving the reports of His commissioners from all parts of the earth. It can readily be imagined what a difference this vision would

make in the courage and hopes of the people, with what different heart and conversation they would go out to their building next morning, having been assured that the Lord thought their punishment had gone far enough and that now He was to show His mercies to them. It is easy to conceive with what tremulous joy Zechariah sought the myrtle grove, how he would scarcely have been surprised had he seen it still peopled with those heavenly forms, and how to him it was henceforth always hallowed ground. To his bodily eye there was in the morning no added brilliance in the air; the turf bore no mark of the horses' hoofs that had trodden it; the silence was unbroken as it had been last evening when he had almost thought heaven deaf and hard as he prayed and heard no answer; and yet all was changed to his inward eye, the silence did not now discompose him, he felt no more as if he had the sole charge and burden of his people.

As human history presents a constant recurrence of similar experiences under altered circumstances and in new individuals, so the history of God's people very much repeats itself; and the helps and solace provided for one generation are found serviceable to all. We have our dull and ignominious times when nothing seems to prosper with us, when we feel as if everything Divine were remote or unreal, when our prayers have so long been unanswered that we begin seriously to doubt whether prayer avails. To have an eye for things spiritual makes all the difference at these times. The veil that hides the forces which really rule this world is lifted and we see things in their true relations. We see the swift couriers of Jehovah incessantly streaming in from all parts of the earth, we see that there is nothing unobserved, and that He to whom this detailed information is present does not wait to be urged or prompted by us to take action but that with gravity, earnestness, and impassioned tenderness, He in-

terposes at the fitting juncture. While we are thinking that our efforts to set matters right are not observed or regarded by any higher power, there is a grave and comprehensive consideration of our affairs, a sense of responsibility which accepts and discharges the management of all human interests, an efficient activity to which ours is as negligence.

The second vision speaks for itself. When the four horns had tossed and gored Israel, four carpenters are sent to cut them down. God's zest in removing the executioners of His justice reveals His reluctance to punish. When the causes of distress have done their work they are removed. As a matter of actual experience, men who have suffered great reverses of fortune declare that no sooner had the calamity brought them to the point of a true, hearty and permanent submission to God about it, than it was removed. There are no doubt irremovable distresses, but God can introduce into the life alleviations of distress and compensating joys. He can at all events enable us to see as clearly as Zechariah saw that He will not give us over to unlimited punishment, but allows present distresses only as temporary expedients which may fit us for more enduring and perfect happiness.

The third vision of Zechariah was also based on what was in his thoughts and under his eye from day to day—plans for restoring the city. He seemed to see a man proceeding to take measurements for the laying out of streets and walls. As we often get notice of city improvements by seeing surveyors with theodolite and chain at work, so this man with the measuring line explained that he was going to ascertain the size and capabilities of Jerusalem, and to see what could be made of the ruins. But as he passes on to his work the angel is told to run and stop him and prevent him from measuring the city and planning new walls and fortifications. He is assured that it was

useless marking out boundaries, because the city is destined to exceed all ordinary dimensions and become so great that no walls would be capable of containing it. It will overflow into suburbs, adjoining villages, and even annex the neighbouring towns, so as to present the appearance not of a walled city, but of a densely peopled district. Neither would any danger result from this extra-mural overflow. As Jerusalem had in former times gloried in the strength of her natural position and impregnable fortifications, so now "I," says Jehovah, "will be unto her a wall of fire round about." The expression, a wall of fire, was probably first suggested in the wilderness days by the camp fires which outlying parties used to scare the wild beasts, and it was retained as a vigorous way of expressing an impenetrable defence.

What Nehemiah, who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, made of this prophecy it is impossible to say. It would have been interesting to trace the fortunes of a city which in those days had been bold enough to rely on a spiritual defence and not on fortifications. Certain it is that the walls of Jerusalem were ultimately her destruction; encouraging, as they did, the Jews to make so obstinate a stand against the Romans that an almost unparalleled, if not quite unparalleled, slaughter and misery was the result. But though this part of the prediction was suspended through the unbelief and timidity of the Jews, that part which promised an overflowing population was abundantly fulfilled, the whole land being very soon densely filled with people, and Jerusalem being found too small and confined within the walls built round her.

The unexpected development of Jerusalem is repeated in all well-placed cities. In many old cities, if we wish to see the original town-walls, we must leave the outskirts and walk to almost the heart of the city. The original builders had as little faith as these Jews in the great in-

crease of the population. Municipal corporations in our day must often wish their predecessors in office had seen a little further into the future, or had had some Zechariah among them to warn them of the growth of their city. The provision made by a past generation for the sick, the uneducated, the criminal, the dead and the living, is all found insufficient. The cramped railway stations, the dangerous sewage systems, the meagre water-supply, all teach us how prone men are to act as if what served their turn would serve the future as well. They have in general no regard to the rapid expansion of society; they do not seriously take into account the progress of things.

But the law of this world is progress. And where there is no change there can be no progress. This does not mean that wherever there is change there is progress, that every change is a change for the better. But it means that if we are to fall in with God's law we are to be on the outlook for change and are to be ready to make it with a glad abandonment of the old wherever reason and conscience approve the new. To remain as we are, to believe that what was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us, is to throw away the advantages our fathers won for us and to repudiate the fundamental law of the world. The constant and essential problem of the politician is to adjust the institutions and laws of the country to the growing intelligence, and the growing sense of justice, and the growing wants of the people.

And this is the problem for the Church as well. If the Church cannot look ahead and make provision for growth, she will forego a large part of her function. The Church must take into account that she is destined to be world-wide; and she must therefore beware of running up walls which can only cramp her and retard her expansion and prove that she has no faith in her own living power of growth. She must be such a corporation as can admit

Hindoos, Chinamen, savages. She must not tie herself to any practice which cannot be adopted by all men everywhere. Most religions have made this mistake ; they have limited their expansion and made themselves local by demanding belief in what reason rejects or by requiring observance of practices which it is impossible for all men to observe. And Christianity is made local in so far as it is identified with certain practices which it is impossible for some nations or for some persons to adopt ; in so far as it is identified with Western forms of thought and with traditions which have grown up during the history of the Church. To make certain forms of worship compulsory, to prohibit divergence from our own creed and from our own habits, is simply to do what is here reprehended ; it is to limit the expansion of Christianity, to shut ourselves up within walls of our own building and have little or no share in the extension of true religion. Be comprehensive, be progressive, is the voice of this vision to the Church.

But is there not a danger in this counsel ? Is there not a risk that we may be trodden down or corrupted by outsiders if we have not a well-defined and solid wall around us through the gates of which none can pass without strictest scrutiny ? Certainly there is a risk. Wherever faith leads, there is a risk. But it remains true that all we really have to rely on is the promise here given : " I will be unto her a wall of fire round about." No subscription of strict creeds, no adhesion to traditional practices, no careful discipline in doctrine and worship will protect the Church ; but a right spirit, the spirit of God, will. Nothing but the inhabitation of God in the Church will defend her. The Church has come to resemble ancient Greece, where every town was a state by itself, with laws, customs, and interests of its own. It is with us as with them, a great part of our energy is spent in keeping right our relations with other Churches, in steering our own little Church through the

troubled sea of jealousies, rival schemes and so on. And it will be well if the end is not also similar, if we do not so bite and devour one another that we become an easy prey to the common foe. Sound creeds, reasonable forms of worship, wholesome practices, are all most useful, but they become worse than useless when they separate us in spirit from our fellow Christians, and are depended upon for defence.

The great increase of population here predicted was to arise partly from the return of a larger number of Jews from Babylon. Very significant are the urgent appeals that were found necessary to move them to return. "Flee from the land of the north. Deliver thyself, O Zion that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon." They had to be warned even that punishment was to fall on Babylon, and that they would share in it if they did not escape. For people are always apt to get hardened to that deserted and distant condition into which God banishes them for their sin. The want of high spiritual communings which at first a man mourned over he gradually gets used to. The gaiety and dissipation which were distasteful to him, he can at last scarcely abandon. The cessation from Christian work, which at first he recognised as an infliction, he becomes so used to that it frets and hardens him to resume it. Just as the child who is banished into another room is at first wild with misery, but very speedily begins to find amusement there and is sorry to be recalled.

And as the conquering troops of Darius would make no distinction between Jew and Babylonian, but would slay indiscriminately—so the common visitations and disasters that wait upon wrong-doing make no nice distinctions between those who profess themselves of the world and those who assume to be something better. Men often promise themselves impunity while engaging in sins which they know commonly bring consequences much to be

dreaded, and they cherish this expectation of impunity on the ground that though sinners who boldly follow such courses are punished, yet they themselves are not such men. But they are awakened out of this dream by the sharp blow of natural law. Commercial distress makes no distinction between the man who has overdriven his business on avowedly worldly principles and the man who has over-specified while he has also nursed himself in the belief that he is a child of God. He may be a child of God, but if this fact did not prevent him behaving like a man of the world it will not prevent him suffering as men of the world suffer. A parent may pray for his children, may teach them much Christian truth, and may lay the flattering unction to his soul that they will turn out well; but if he does not see that they learn to love duty more than pleasure, and if he does not by his own life show them that duty is more than pleasure, he will find himself involved in the consequences which always result from neglect and half-discharged responsibilities. Natural law, in short, is no respecter of persons, and utterly disregards the professions we make and the fancies in which we dream our life away. Justice is blind, and weighs deeds irrespective of the person who has thrown them into her scale.

In closing this prophecy Zechariah encourages the people to expect that not only would Jerusalem be filled to overflowing with their kinsmen, but that God would dwell there. But the prediction runs on in language which seems too magnificent for any contemporary events: "Many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and shall be My people." This is characteristic of Old Testament prophecy. It is always occasioned by some present need of the generation among whom the prophet lives, but the language employed seems larger than the occasion requires. Prophets did not arise in quiet times, when there was no special call for warning or encouragement or instruction. They ap-

peared in emergencies and spoke of matters within the view of those they addressed. Zechariah speaks of the rebuilding of the Temple that was lying half-built before the eyes of the people; he speaks of that very Jerusalem in which they lived and from which they dated their letters. And regarding these well-known objects he makes explicit and intelligible statements.

But the Church of Zechariah's time was immature, and the events among which he lived were only the prelude and preparation for the far greater events which were to signalize the Church's maturity; and as the prophet looked forward to the triumph of his people over present misfortunes he could not fail to catch a glimpse of the perfect triumphs which were destined to be won by the perfected Church. Under the forms and appearances present to any one generation there lay truths and principles common to all generations. The Temple was the then-existing form of God's dwelling-place, the temporary expedient for Divine manifestation; but in all generations there is a manifestation of God, though not always a stone temple. And so round the whole circle of things with which God's people had to do. Through those things the prophets were, by God's inspiration, enabled to see the permanent principles which operated in them, and in speaking of the visible and familiar objects they therefore often used language which was verified not in those very objects and events then present, but only in the ultimate, highest forms which those principles and ideas were to assume.

The comprehensive promise which seemed to augur all good to Jerusalem in Zechariah's time was this: "I will dwell in the midst of thee." Beyond this, indeed, no promise can at any time go. If God dwells with us because He loves us and seeks our presence, this implies that all good will be ours. Only the most unreasonable of the Jews could have said within themselves: "God must do more

than this. This will not bring us the substantial benefits we need." What can God do more than come and share with us? What else can He promise in order to encourage us? What more can He do than bring Himself? And if it would have been unreasonable in the Jews to murmur, what must we say of murmuring now after the promise has been fulfilled in a manner which beforehand none could dare to anticipate? Are we to live as if this promise were yet unfulfilled? Are we to make no response, no acknowledgment? Is the fact of His Presence to excite no hope, no ambition, no craving for the Divine? Are we to go on through life practically saying, "What about it; what though God does love me? It is nothing to me though His love for me does draw Him to live with me." If so, we wait in vain for any more encouraging fact to enter our life. In this alone have we all that we need to balance and guide our life. To live as in a world from which God can never pass away, this is the key to happiness and energy.

MARCUS DODS.

THOUGHTS.

1. Jesus never Sleeping in a Walled Town.—"Him that cometh unto Me I will in no wise cast out," is written over every day and night of the life of Christ. There never lived so open a man, so accessible always to all. Sitting at the well of Sychar, and talking freely to the first comer; receiving Nicodemus by night; listening to the Syro-Phœnician mother, who breaks through His concealment; preaching to the five thousand, who disturb His retirement,—He is the property of every man that wants Him, and leaves us an example to follow His steps. Yet His command to us, "Enter into thy closet, shut thy door, pray to the Father in secret"—suffer no man, no business, no allurement, to keep you from the secret place of prayer—was singularly observed by Himself.

“Jesus never slept in a walled town,” is the striking remark of a literary writer (Mr. Hepworth Dixon); but without referring to His devotions which clothed the fact with its lessons. The assertion may seem too absolute, but it stands examination. At Jerusalem Jesus slept in Bethany with open access to the Mount of Olives. Tiberias lay close to the scenes of His daily ministry, yet He never entered its gates; and He “entered Jericho” only to “pass through it,” and sleep in the house of Zaccheus outside the walls.

Jesus loved the “closet,” and enjoins us to use it as the secret place to which most men have the readiest or the only access. But He chose for Himself besides to keep always at command the more absolute loneliness of the “solitary place, the desert, the mountain,” whence no man was shut out, and whither none could intrude. This freedom Jesus had from childhood in Nazareth; He had it again in Capernaum, the home of His own choice; and if throughout His ministry He chose it rather, it was surely that, in the hours when men did not require Him, He might have freedom for the most perfect solitude, that He might be “alone, and yet not alone, because the Father was with Him.”

2. Jesus never Loosing a Fetter Fastened by Man.—“And when He had opened the book, He found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor; He hath sent Me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised.” All these signs of the Messiah Jesus wrought literally except one. He preached the gospel to thousands of the poor, healed with pardon the broken-hearted weeper, shed light on the eyes of the blind, went about delivering all that were oppressed of the devil; but He released no captive bound by any earthly chain. The Son of God had come to live and to die on earth for great spiritual and eternal purposes, of which His outward works were only the transient tokens. He interfered with no human sentence; and He refrained from the work and sign of setting the prisoner free.

There was one captive whom He could have freed with a word, even as from heaven he loosed the chains of Peter, and to refrain from whose release must have been one of the severest trials in the life of Jesus. John is cast into prison for righteousness' sake;

he is familiar with Isaiah's signs of the promised Messiah; and has probably heard of Jesus reading them in the synagogue of Nazareth. All the other tokens are fulfilled in the letter. Here is at once an urgent call for the release of Christ's faithful herald and a bright opportunity for sealing His own Messiahship with the letter of this promised sign. Yet He stretches no hand and speaks no word for John's release. The lonely prisoner hears of all His miracles, is perplexed, and sends two messengers to Jesus. He bids them return and report what they witness,—“the blind see, the deaf hear, the lame walk, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached, and”—the hour is come for “the opening of the prison to them that are bound.” No: the blank is left unfilled, but in its place Jesus adds, “And blessed is he that shall not be offended in Me.” Wondrous history! strange, mysterious teaching for us all in every age! “Let patience have her perfect work: what I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.”

3. Jesus never Writing except in the Dust.—All in the Bible that is tenderest in love, brightest in truth, and terriblest in judgment, is found in the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, “The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.” Yet the servant Paul wrote his thoughts, so that even those who deny his inspiration own that we possess many of his exact words; while Jesus the Master never wrote except on the passing dust of the temple floor. Teaching us—

1. That Christ on earth knew that in heaven He could and would so give the Holy Spirit to men of like passions with us, that they would record His words exactly and infallibly as if He had Himself written them all.

2. That the same Spirit has equally directed the inspired writers in writing their own words as in writing their Lord's, thus giving them equal authority.

3. That Jesus Christ, by making His ascent to the Father's right hand and His gift of the Holy Ghost essential for the sure preservation of any of His words, and so making the very memory of His past work on earth altogether dependent on His present power in heaven, assures us how near, by His intercession and by His Spirit, He is to the Church and all its members on earth, even as if outwardly present with us every moment.

A. M. S.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE ON THE
OLD TESTAMENT.

THE YEAR 1884.

To furnish, within the space of a few pages, a complete survey of all the Literature—save that of England and America—relating to the Old Testament is not possible, not even though we should confine ourselves to a bare enumeration of titles. Since, however, titles without elucidatory remarks possess for the most part but little value, we here abandon any attempt at completeness, in order to be able briefly to characterise at least the more important writings. In particular we shall but rarely cite articles appearing in magazines. Those who care for completeness we must refer again to the reviews of Kautzsch and Siegfried (comp. *EXPOSITOR*, 1885, No. I. p. 70). On this occasion may be quoted the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, edited since 1881 by Prof. B. Stade (Giessen). Unfortunately this magazine has mostly as its contributors adherents of the extreme tendency of Wellhausen, and has therefore become a sort of party organ. Nevertheless, we will gladly acknowledge that it likewise contains many a production adapted to give general satisfaction.

We begin once more with the works belonging to the province of LINGUISTIC SCIENCE. Friedrich Delitzsch has republished his *Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft* (Leipzig: pp. 119), which called forth the attention of scientific men in the year 1873. We regret to say it is republished without any kind of change. The great *Sammlung Karthagischer Inschriften* (vol. i., Strassburg, 208 plates) of the well-known palæographer, J. Euting, enriches our knowledge not only of the Phœnician language, but also of the Phœnician religion. It is very gratifying to find that Theodor Nöldeke has continued his investigations on the Semitic grammar. This time he treats of the Terminations of the Perfect (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxxiv. pp. 407-422). The *Grammaire hébraïque* of S. Preiswerk, remoulded in the fourth edition by the author's son, of the same name (Basle: pp. lxvi. 403), affords nothing new to German and English readers; on the other hand, it may be used with profit in France and in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. The Concordances to the Hebrew Old Testament in use in

Germany have not a few gaps, and labour also under other defects (comp. *Die neubearbeitete hebräisch-chaldäische Bibel-Concordanz von Dr. S. Mandelkern*. Leipzig: pp. 15); it were to be desired, therefore, that the carefully prepared work of Mandelkern were printed. The Concordance of B. Davidson (London, 1876) is better than that of Buxtorf and that of J. Fürst, but yet not free from errors. A monograph displaying commendable diligence, on *Die hebräischen Conditionalsätze*, was furnished by Paul Friedrich (Königsberg: pp. viii. 109). Two other special themes were thoroughly treated by Carl Siegfried (*Die Aussprache des Hebräischen bei Hieronymus*, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, pp. 34-83) and Wilh. Bacher, Professor in Budapest, *Die hebräisch-arabische Sprachvergleichung des Abulwalid Merwán ibn Ganáh*. Wien: pp. 80.

The *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen. Mit einer kritischen Erörterung der aramäischen Wörter im Neuen Testament* (Leipzig: pp. viii. 181), by Prof. Emil Kautzsch of Tübingen, supplies a long-felt desideratum. The errors censured on many sides can easily be corrected in a second edition (comp. *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, No. 26).

In his *Einleitung ins Alte Testament (v. Handbuch des theologischen Wissenschaften . . . herausgegeben von Otto Zückler. Zweite . . . teilweise neubearbeitete Auflage*. Nördlingen: vol. i. pp. 123-210) the author has endeavoured to give an objective survey of the present standing of this science, adding an abundance of literary references for those who wish for thorough information on special points. The Roman Catholic Prof. Franz Kaulen has published in a second revised edition the general part of his *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments* (Freiburg im Breisgau: pp. 152 [156]). There he speaks of the Inspiration, the Canon, the History of the Text, the Translations, and furnishes—so far as he is not prevented by his religion—many useful particulars. Yet more is it seen in the production of Zschokke (*Historia sacra antiqui testamenti, Vienna*, ii. ed., pp. iv. 464), that the adherents of the Romish Church have not the possibility of pursuing, with regard to very many questions, a free critical research. The much spoken of passage of the Talmud, Baba bathra, fol. 14b, 15a, is discussed by Gust. Marx, *Traditio Rabbīnorum veterrima de librorum V^{is} Tⁱ ordine atque origine*. Leipzig: pp. 60. The author seeks to show that the order of sequence of the books of the Bible, mentioned in the Talmud, *l.c.*,

is only a precept for the future. I must adhere to the view that only an ancient custom, which is to be explained from the history of the Canon, is there determined. (Comp. *Protestantische Real-Encyklop.*, 2nd ed., vii. p. 417 sqq., and *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1885, No. 17, col. 567 f.).

For a good edition of the Massoretic text of the Book of Ezekiel we are indebted to Dr. S. Baer (*Liber Ezechielis. Textum . . . expressit . . . notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer. Cum præfatione Francisci Delitzsch et glossario Ezechielico-Babylonica Friderici Delitzsch.* Lipsiæ: pp. xviii. 134.

VERSIONS.—In the Alexandrine translations of the Book of Job there were wanting about 400 hemistichs of the Hebrew text. So early and so zealously were the defects supplied by the aid of Theodotion, that Jerome could say in his day, there was no Greek or Latin manuscript to be found which reproduced the original text of the LXX. entire. Now, by the assistance of a manuscript of the South Egyptian (Thebaic) version, the early Septuagint text can be reconstructed, v. Agaprios Bsciai, *Une decouverte biblique importante (Moniteur de Rome, 1883, 26th October; comp. De Lagarde, Mittheilungen, pp. 203–205).* Dr. A. Berliner has reprinted the “Targum Onkelos” after the very rare punctuated editio Sabionetta, 1557, and followed it up in a second volume with various readings, investigations as to the history of this Targum, etc. (Berlin: pp. iv. 242; x. 266). Moritz Heidenheim has conceived the plan of combining in a *Bibliotheca Samaritana* the most important products of the Samaritan literature. The plan is good, the execution in the first instalment, unhappily, disappointing. The long title of this (first) number reads: *Die samaritanische Pentateuch-Version. Die Genesis in der hebräischen Quadratschrift unter Benutzung der Barberinischen Triglotte herausgegeben und mit Einleitung, textkrit. Noten, Scholien und Beilagen versehen* (Leipzig: pp. lii. 98). The editor has regard to the renowned manuscript named after Cardinal Barberini in only a few passages, alters the text in many places—without always giving a hint of the change—by needless, often impossible conjectures, and in the Annotations (“Scholia”!) asserts very much which must call forth the contradiction of competent judges (comp. S. Kohn in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.* 1885, pp. 165–226).

EXEGESIS AND CRITICISM.—Joseph König, Professor of Catholic

Theology, at Freiburg i. B., has published a History of the Pentateuch-Criticism, from J. Astruc to the present day, which is worth reading (*Das Alter und die Entstehungsweise des Pentateuchs*. Freiburg: pp. 73, 4to). H. Vuilleumier has continued his work, mainly designed for French readers (comp. EXPOSITOR, ut supra, p. 74 init.). *La critique du Pentateuque dans sa phase actuelle* [*Revue de théol. et de philos.* 1884, Mai, pp. 292-306]. Herm. L. Strack has shown, by discussing the first chapters of the Genesis, that the results of the Higher Criticism can be used in many ways in favour of the credibility of the biblical accounts (*Hebraica*, i. pp. 5-10; March). The articles of S. I. Curtiss, "Delitzsch on the Pentateuch. Translated from Manuscript Notes," are reprinted from *The Hebrew Student*, vol. i. (Morgan Park, Ill., pp. 37). The other works of Curtiss we must leave to the writer of the report on the American literature to mention. C. H. Cornill, *Die Composition des Buches Jesaja* (in *Stade's Zeitschrift*, pp. 83-105), strove to show that the redactor of the Book of Isaiah laboured to attain first a chronological order, and secondly an order of subjects, and this for the most part under the guidance of certain "keywords." C. Clausen defends the genuineness of the Elihu discourses, and has thus no sense of perception that they interrupt in a disturbing way the connexion between Job's last words and the discourses of God (comp. his articles in *Luthardt's Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben*, pp. 393-408, 449-460, 505-515). The *Praktische Auslegung der Psalmen*, by E. Taube (3rd ed., Berlin: pp. 889) will be welcome to those who seek for edification. Prof. Gust. Bickell, Innsbruck, has been occupied with the criticism of the Book Koheleth [*Ecclesiastes*]; his hypotheses, however, are so artificial and so forced, that they will never indeed win acceptance with serious investigators (*Der Prediger über den Werth des Daseins. Wiederherstellung des bisher zerstückelten Textes, Uebersetzung und Erklärung*. Innsbruck: pp. 112). A young Greifswald theologian, Joh. Meinhold, has pursued investigations on *Die Composition des Buches Daniel* (Greifswald: pp. 87). His results accord to a gratifying extent with that which I had already indicated in my *Einleitung*. The dissertation of G. T. Mühlhing, on the genealogies of the Chronicles, I. ch. i.-ix. (in [Tübinger] *Theologische Quartalschrift*, pp. 403-450), bears an essentially apologetic character.

The history of Exegesis is detailed by the following writings: 1. S. Schiffer, *Das Buch Kohelet. Nach der Auffassung der Weisen des Talmud und Midrasch und der jüdischen Erklärer des Mittelalters.* Theil I. Leipzig: pp. viii. 140 [promises much, but gives little]; 2. S. H. Margulies, *Saadia al-Fajumi's arabische Psalm-übersetzung nach einer Münchener Handschrift herausgegeben und ins Deutsche übersetzt.* I. Breslau: pp. iv. 51, 26; 3. M. Wolff. *Zur Charakteristik der Bibelexegese Saadia Alfajumi's* (in *Stade's Zeitschrift*, pp. 225-246); 4. J. J. L. Bargès, *R. Yapheth Abou Aly ibn Aly Bassorensis . . . in Canticum Canticorum commentarium arabicum . . . edidit atque in linguam Latinam transtulit.* Paris: pp. xxxii. 340; and 5. O. Zöckler, *Luther als Ausleger des Alten Testaments gewürdigt auf Grund seines grösseren Genesiskommentars.* Greifswald: pp. 77.

APOCRYPHAL AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC LITERATURE.—Paul de Lagarde has edited the Latin version of the *Sapientia Salomonis* and of the *Ecclesiasticus* after the Codex Amiatinus in Florence (*Mittheilungen*, Göttingen: pp. 241-380). He is certainly right in his conviction that this much spoken of Codex is neither so ancient nor so trustworthy, as has ordinarily been supposed on the authority of C. Tischendorf. The article of G. Schnedermann, Basel, on the Judaism of the two first Books of the Maccabees, although contributing nothing strictly new, merits reading as a diligent and judicious combination of the existing material (Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, pp. 78-100). The shrewd dissertation of Friedr. Schnapp, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen* (Halle: pp. 88), seeks in particular to shed light upon the composition of this pseudepigraphon, and to prove the existence of interpolations.

ARCHEOLOGY, HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.—The *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums für gebildete Bibelleser.* Herausgegeben von Eduard Riehm (Bielefeld und Leipzig: pp. 1849, with more than 400 illustrations and maps), begun in the year 1874, is at last completed. Although the book is designed in the first instance for the educated laity, many of the articles nevertheless merit attention on the part of scholars; I mention here only one, "Zeitrechnung," from the pen of Riehm himself. The names of the most important contributors are: Gust. Baur, Franz Delitzsch, G. Ebers (Leipzig); P. Kleinert, Eberhard Schrader (Berlin); Kamphausen (Bonn); Kautzsch (Tübingen); Mühlau (Dorpat);

Schlottmann (Halle); Schürer (Giessen). The *Biblisches Wörterbuch für das christliche Volk* (3rd re-modelled edition, Karlsruhe and Leipzig: pp. 1410, with 9 maps), edited by H. Zeller, stands upon the ground of the traditional-apologetic views and is adapted to wider circles of readers. Of the *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, second edition, two volumes, xiii. and xiv., have appeared. Some of the larger articles are: *Samaritaner* (Kautzsch), *Sanherib* (Friedr. Delitzsch), *Schöpfung* (Zöckler), *Schreibkunst und Schrift bei den Hebräern* (Strack), *Semiten* (Volck), *Sibyllen* (Ed. Reuss), *Sinai* (F. W. Schultz), *Sprüche Salomos* (Franz Delitzsch), *Sterne* (Lotz), *Stiftshütte* (Riggenbach).

F. W. Schultz (Breslau) has essentially improved and enlarged his treatise on the Geography, the History, and the Archæology of the Old Testament in Zöckler's *Handbuch* (see above, p. 150), second edition, vol. i. pp. 211–327. J. Wellhausen has published in the first part of his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, pp. 1–102), the revised original of his article "Israel" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, vol. xiii. In this way German scholars have obtained the desired opportunity of learning how the course of the Israelite history has shaped itself according to Wellhausen; and this is naturally of importance for a thorough testing of the critical theories of Wellhausen himself. Substantially upon the same ground stands Bernh. Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, of which the third instalment has appeared (Berlin: pp. 305–464). Yet more radical is L. Seinecke, who *e.g.* represents the Book of Ezekiel as owing its composition to the years 164–163 B.C. (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel. II. Theil. Vom Exil bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer.* Göttingen: pp. xii. 356). Of quite an opposite kind is the *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Geschichte Alten Testaments*, by Aug. Köhler (Zweite Hälfte, I. Theil, Erlangen: pp. 473. [In the year 1884, only the pp. 267 ff. appeared; pp. 1–266 were published in 1877 and 1881; the first half bears the date 1875]). Köhler, as professor of Theology in Erlangen (successor of Franz Delitzsch, when the latter removed to Leipzig), occupies a strictly positive standpoint. He goes to work, however, with such thoroughness, and avails himself to such an extent of all existing aids, that even his radical opponents acknowledge his book as at least a thankworthy collection of materials. May the author, who in ten years has brought us only to the Division of

the Kingdom, not make us wait much longer for the completion of his work! Prof. Gust. Baur has dealt briefly, but well, with Education among the Israelites, in K. A. Schmid's *Geschichte der Erziehung*, vol. i. (Stuttgart). A piece of diligent workmanship by Allen Page Bissell, *The Law of Asylum in Israel, historically and critically examined* (Leipzig: pp. 86), may be mentioned here, because the author, an American, completed his studies in Germany.

The *Geschichte des Alterthums* by Eduard Meyer (vol. i. contains the history of the East till the foundation of the Persian rule; Stuttgart: pp. xix. 647), is valuable, because the author is not only an historian but likewise possesses oriental lore. The presentation of the history of Israel, however, has suffered greatly, owing to the hypercritical attitude which E. Meyer assumes towards the historic documents of the Old Testament. A. Wiedemann's *Aegyptische Geschichte* (Gotha: pp. xii. 765), is a very thorough work, adapted more for reference than for perusal. How greatly is it to be deplored that this people of remote antiquity has preserved to us only very few notices concerning its earlier history which can be turned to account. Heinrich Brugsch published *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*. I. Hälfte. Leipzig: pp. vii. 280. Finally, two writings of Assyriologists may yet be mentioned: 1. Friedrich Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*. Leipzig: pp. vi. 75; and 2. D. G. Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's . . . nach den Originalen neu herausgegeben, umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt*. Leipzig: pp. xvi. 93.

The *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, which is conducted in a manner once more to be commended to English readers, furnishes (pp. 231-262) a report, embracing 233 titles of works, of new publications in the domain of Palestine literature during the year 1873, by Prof. A. Socin. *Palaestina in Wort und Bild*, edited by G. Ebers and H. Guthe, is now completed (Stuttgart: pp. 474 fol.). The work of Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui. Voyages dans la Phénicie, le Liban et la Judée*. Paris: pp. 675 4to (364 illustr., 9 maps), is of great value for our knowledge of the natural constitution of Syria.

In the province of BIBLICAL THEOLOGY I have on this occasion three works to mention: 1. The brief outline by F. W. Schultz in Zöckler's *Handbuch*, second edition, vol. i. pp. 328-380; 2. R. Smend, On the Importance of the Jerusalem Temple in the Old

Testament Religion, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, pp. 689–740 (it is to be regretted that the author is an adherent of Wellhausen); 3. Friedrich Eduard König, *Die Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgeschichte gegenüber den Entwicklungstheoretikern*. Leipzig: pp. iv. 108. I would willingly speak more at large on this interesting and suggestive book; but the space at my disposal for this article is already exhausted.

Berlin.

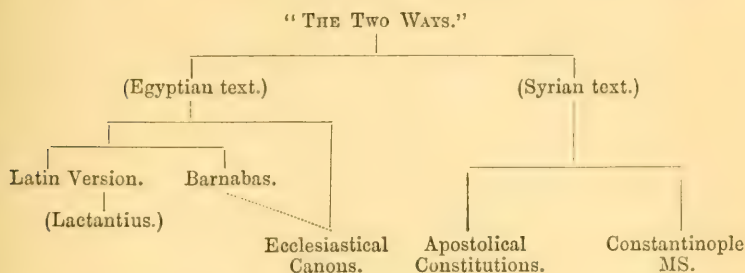
HERMANN L. STRACK.

BREVIA.

Textual Criticism of The Two Ways.—The first section (Chapters I.–VI.) of the *Teaching of the Apostles* forms a whole by itself, as is witnessed by its internal completeness as well as by the express declaration of VII. 1. For purposes of textual criticism, it also stands apart from the rest of the treatise on account of the comparatively great wealth of material that exists for reconstructing its text. If we agree that Barnabas depends on the “Teaching,” and not *vice versa*, we have the following sources of information as to the text of the section on The Two Ways. (1) The Constantinople MS. (2) The fragment of the Latin translation brought to light by v. Gebhardt, covering I.–II. 6. (3) The reworking in Barnabas, which draws from I. 1, 2; II. 2, 3, 4, 6; III. 7–10; IV. 1–14; V. 1, 2 [VI. 2?]. (4) The reworking in the Ecclesiastical Canons, including great part of the text up to IV. 8. (5) The Apostolical Constitutions which incorporates great part of the whole text. (6) We may add a few patristic citations, especially in the Sibyllines, Hermas and Clement of Alexandria, and, for the Latin version, Lactantius.

A careful examination of the mutual relations of these witnesses acquaints us with the fact they part into two well-marked types: the Apostolical Constitutions and Constantinople MS. on the one side, with the Latin version, Barnabas and Ecclesiastical Canons on the other. The relation of Barnabas to the Latin version is, however, closer than that of either with the Canons. With the one exception that the author of the Canons knew and

apparently was affected by Barnabas, each witness is entirely independent of the rest. We may, thus, construct a genealogical table, as follows :—



A glance at this table will inform us what combinations, on genealogical principles, are apt to be strong, and what are apt to be weak.

Internal evidence of groups thoroughly supports the conclusions at which we should arrive on genealogical considerations, except that the combination of the Constantinople MS. and the Apostolical Constitutions proves somewhat better, and that of the Constitutions and Canons somewhat worse than we should have anticipated on genealogical grounds. Most of the readings of the first pair are, however, only apparently supported by it alone, the opposing readings being usually singular readings of Barnabas or the Canons, the other documents failing. Whenever two or more witnesses oppose this group, it fails to approve itself. So when we subtract from the readings of the group, Constitutions plus Canons, those that appear to be accidental, nothing is left to suggest a closer relationship between the two documents than the table allows. Internal evidence of groups approves quaternary and all trinary groups, and especially gives its seal to such binary groups as the Constantinople MS. plus the Canons, the Constantinople MS. plus Barnabas, the Constitutions plus Barnabas. The Latin version is, so far as we may judge from the meagre fragment that has been preserved for us, full of individualisms, but of the highest value in conjunction with other witnesses.

In the light of these investigations, I have gone very carefully over the text of *The Two Ways*, and have to suggest the following emendations of the Constantinople MS. It will go without saying that the internal evidence has been very closely scrutinized

in each case. I cite the document according to the chapters and verses of Harnack's edition.

Title. Omit δώδεκα and possibly bracket τῶν.

Omit second title entire.

I. 2. Read θέλης for θελήσης.

Read ποιήσεις for ποίει.

I. 3.—II. 1. Omit the entire section from εὐλογεῖτε to II. 1 inclusive.

II. 5. Reverse the order of ψευδῆς and κενός.

Omit ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει.

II. 7. Insert οὖς δὲ ἐλεήσεις after ἐλέγξεις.

III. 4. Read plural, εἰδωλολατρῆαι γεννῶνται.

Place πρὸς in the margin opposite εἶς.

II. 5. Place πρὸς in the margin opposite εἶς.

III. 9. Instead of οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου read οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου with the present reading in the margin.

IV. I. Instead of τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι, read τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι, and insert δοξάσεις after Θεοῦ, putting the present reading in the margin.

Add [αὐτοῦ] after μνησθήσῃ with "add [δὲ]" opposite in the margin.

Put in the margin opposite Θεοῦ, "add [καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς]."

IV. 2. Put ἐπαναπαύῃ in the margin opposite —παῆς.

IV. 3. Read ποιήσεις instead of ποθήσεις.

IV. 6. Insert, [ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἶς] between δώσεις and λύτρωσιν.

IV. 7. Read ὁ instead of ἡ.

IV. 8. Place "omit" in the margin opposite τὸν (before ἐνδεόμενον); and the same opposite the συγ- in συγκοινωνήσεις.

IV. 9. Place τῆς in the margin before νεότητος and "omit" opposite the τὸν before φόβον.

IV. 10. Insert [σου] after παιδίσκη.

Place brackets around μῆ.

Place, "or ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ" in the margin opposite οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται.

IV. 11. Insert οἱ before δούλοι.

Read ὑμῶν instead of ἡμῶν.

IV. 14. Transfer ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ to the margin.

Read ἁμαρτήματα instead of παραπτώματα, with the latter in the margin.

Bracket καί.

V. 1. Add at end of the verse, ἀφοβία [Θεοῦ].

VI. 3. Read φεύγετε with λίαν πρόσχε in the margin.

The text of the treatise is the gainer from all of these changes. Especially does the long omission in the latter portion of Chapter I., which is demanded on external and internal grounds alike, relieve it of many difficulties.

Allegheny.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

Mr. Brown's Life of Bunyan.¹—The Rev. John Brown, B.A., Minister of the Church at Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, has given to the world what will long be regarded as the standard Life of Bunyan. Ever since the appearance of that invaluable collection, Mr. Wylie's *Book of the Bunyan Festival*, to which a paper was contributed by Mr. Brown, students have looked to him as the fittest biographer of the Dreamer. He has spent years in the examination of the national records, of all available literature, of his own Church books—in the collecting and sifting of traditions, in the patient arrangement of his materials, and the result is a sound and thorough piece of work, which will—and we can conceive of no higher reward—permanently associate his name with that of Bunyan. There was obviously danger that Mr. Brown's painstaking labours should merely result in his furnishing material on which a more expert writer might work; but this peril has been to a considerable extent overcome. Mr. Brown is no mean literary craftsman, and his book has been made additionally attractive by many beautiful illustrations. The main fault of the work is due to the writer's excessive modesty. He has taken great pains in compiling lists of editions, criticisms, and the rest, but he has to a large extent forborne to use his well-earned right to pass judgment on them. This is seriously to the loss of his readers. We miss a clear account of the sources, of the trustworthiness of the various editions and biographies, such as the greatest Bunyan scholar of the time could have given with authority. Reading between the lines, it is true, one may learn something. Students of literary history will find further illustration of Lord Macaulay's wonderful accuracy, and of Mr. Froude's scandalous ignorance and carelessness; of the latter

¹ London: Isbister.

more examples might easily have been given. But scant justice is done, for example to Offor, whose title to commemoration is much clearer than that of Bunyan's successors.

After all Mr. Brown's labours, it remains true that we know little about Bunyan which he has not told us himself. The standing enigmas of his history are not, and never can be, completely solved. But Mr. Brown has given us a singularly clear and consistent account of his position as a theologian. An able writer has speculated on how Bunyan's faith bore the trial of witnessing, first the overthrow of tyranny in England, and then its insolent revival. He solves his problem by saying that to Bunyan, as to all mystics of the highest order, the chances of the time counted for nothing. It is questionable, however, whether Bunyan regarded these events as much affecting the real progress of the kingdom of God—a progress which to him was the conversion of individual souls, not the outward prosperity of churches, and still less the favour the church found with the world. With the great idea of the church he had no sympathy; he was, as Macaulay said, the least sacramentarian of all theologians. Mr. Brown shows that, though he seems to have inclined to Baptist views, his children were baptized at the parish church, and that he regarded the controversy with scornful indifference. Denominationalism he abhorred; it came "neither from Jerusalem nor Antioch, but from hell and Babylon," and he looked forward to the day when it would cease. Additions to the church, whether from a superficial revivalism or a compliance with fashion, he would have considered worthless. Whoever might chance to be on the throne, the world and the lust thereof were still the reigning powers. In the cloudy and dark day, sooner than in the sunshine, the soul might seek and find its Rest; and thus, and thus only, the kingdom of God came.

None of Bunyan's words can be suffered to fall to the ground; in the least notable of his writings there is "something of that jasper in which the Heavenly City descends." A full and thorough edition is a great desideratum, and for this pious labour Mr. Brown is very plainly marked out.

EDITOR.

THE INCARNATION OF THE ETERNAL WORD.

THE resurrection of our Lord has a bearing upon the problems of science and philosophy, the history of matter, and the history of mind, as well as upon the personal hopes of the individual soul. In other words it is a theological, as well as a religious truth; and intimately as the two are connected, they must still be kept apart in the mind. For the common tendency which there is to confuse them is responsible for many of the intellectual difficulties which now, as of old, are hindering the acceptance of the faith. Now, as of old, the religious missionary whose whole being is devoted to track moral evil to its hideous haunts, and there fight it in its grosser forms—to rescue and renew and guide the souls of sinners Godward—naturally tends to emphasize the undreamed, un hoped, un called-for, miraculous character of Christian grace; the strangeness of our salvation, so far beyond all we looked for. And so the Incarnation comes to be regarded as an isolated exception to the order of the world, a Divine afterthought, if we may say so reverently, consequent upon human sins.

But the age is scientific as well as practical, and science knows nothing of isolated exceptions. It is not possible that men whose bias is to view things from the intellectual side, should not be alienated from the Christian message, the Christian life, the Christian hope, by the popular travesties of Christian theology, to which the insulation of a few doctrines, for homiletic purposes, and the disproportionate insistence on them, has gradually given rise.

We cannot therefore, in the present day, recur too often

to, or dwell too strongly on, those portions of the teaching of St. Paul and of St. John which exhibit the Incarnation as the predestined, and in that sense as the natural summary and climax of the material creation,

“Cent’ring in Himself complete what truth
Is elsewhere scattered, partial, and afar.”

“By Him all things were made”—the atoms, which we call ultimate; the myriad modes and forms and fashions into which the atoms are transmuted and built up; heat and light and electricity; the world of colour and the world of sound; the courses of the stars, the strength of the mountains, the raiment of the lilies, the beauty and the wonder of bird and insect life, the uncouth animals, the mind of man—“and without Him was not anything made that was made.” So far all Theists are agreed. But mere Theism does not satisfy the mind. The closer we look into the material world, with its resistless, omnipresent, inextinguishable energies of life, the more we feel that we are in the presence chamber of a power that is Divine. Nature does not bear the stamp of a machine created by a far-off God, and then left to its own working. Theism, if it would not shrink up into Deism, must go forward into Pantheism; and yet, to be consistent with itself, it cannot. But the Christian creed continues, “In Him was life.” The Creator of the world has not deserted it. He sustains it. He indwells it. And the forces that have gathered suns and stars out of the formless mist, and shaped them for use and habitation, and peopled them with life, and supported and sustained that life through all its gradual development, “till at the last arose the man,” are part of the working hitherto of Him who is the life.

And that Life was the light of men. Above all other forms of energy towers the thought of man—slowly building up societies; evoking, as we say, a moral consciousness; re-

fining age by age upon the moral ideals of its past; issuing, as leisure increases, in art, philosophy, and science; culminating in the pangs of martyrs and the ecstasy of saints. And through all this process we believe that that Life has been the light of men. The inventor has been explaining his own machinery, the artist exhibiting his own pictures, the author re-reading his own book; the Creator leading men, by slow degrees, to learn the meaning of His own creation, by teaching them first to discover and then to co-operate with its laws. "He left not Himself without witness," says St. Paul. Socrates and Plato, not less than Moses and Isaiah, dimly descried personalities beyond the horizon of authentic history, such as were the Buddha, Confucius, Zarathustra, and all the unknown, unhonoured pioneers of early thought, among those through whom "at sundry times, in divers manners, God spake in times past unto the fathers;" and all the legitimate developments of art, all the verified discoveries of science, all the yearnings of our race for larger liberty or lovelier life, are manifestations of the Life that was the light of men—ways in which for ever He is coming to His own.

Finally, "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." The thought is presented by St. John as a climax. Matter in its successive gradations, from the conflict of atoms to the body of the saint, had been expressing with increasing clearness the character and attributes of its Creator. Reason had been yearning to reduce its material embodiment from stubborn resistance to obedient freedom, and at length in the fulness of time the two currents coalesce. Matter becomes at last an adequate expression of its Creator. God is at last revealed to His creation in material form. And the Incarnation, once accomplished, throws a "supplementary reflux of light" upon all the ascending stages of the world's antecedent evolution.

For the fact of the Resurrection as attested, preached;

appealed to, by St. Paul, is too plain an event of history to be possibly ignored, and the Resurrection, once accepted, proves the Incarnation to have been a reality; independently of the undoubted truth that our more sympathetic modern criticism tends increasingly towards the conviction, that no combination of, or refinement upon, the thoughts of antecedent thinkers could have invented the Incarnation if it had not actually happened. Here, as in all other cases, philosophy is the interpreter of history; it never has been, it never can be, its creator. But if we thus view the Incarnation as no interruption of previous development, but as the climax, the summary, the fulfilment of all nature's dim auguries, of all philosophic aspirations, of all that prophet and king had desired to see, and had not seen; predestined, we may well believe with the Franciscan theologians, independently of human sin; secular thought and the secular world, as it is called, assume for us a new significance. Our Lord did not cease to appeal to the teaching of the lilies, and the corn, and the sunrise, as if its need were superseded by His being the very truth. He only reveals it to be more nearly one with Him than men had before suspected, by such phrases as "I am the Vine," "I am the Shepherd," "I am the Bread of Life." He does not abrogate the Roman law, but only points to its emanation from above. He says expressly of the drift of previous Hebrew history, "Think not that I am come to destroy, I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil."

So that on whatever side of us we look, we see in Christianity not so much a circumference within which is truth, and outside which falsehood, as a centre of attraction towards which all that is lovely and of good report is for ever drawing nearer, till approximation becomes prophecy. Thus the face of external nature, with its loveliness of form and colour, and all its endless harmony of action and repose, speaks to us, not only of an artist who designed it, but also

of an indwelling Spirit which sustains and animates its every part, and is revealed with increasing clearness as we ascend in the scale of creation, from the mystery of the mountains, to the life of the trees that clothe them, and the motions of the beasts that haunt them, and the senses, the hearts, the brains of the men that look upon them and love them; as sculptured expression is surpassed by painting, and painting again by music, and music when it can rise no higher, bursts as in Beethoven's great last symphony, articulate into song. And we cannot but feel in the presence of such a fact as this, that all the forms of nature-worship which we find among savage races, much more the refined Pantheism of later days, point to a truth which professing Christians are often apt to underrate. They cannot be summarised and set aside as the merely fanciful creations of a superstitious or poetic temperament. They are only the inadequate expressions of a legitimate human instinct whose natural satisfaction is the doctrine of the "Word made flesh." Our judgment of the modern Pantheist will vary with the nature of the causes which withhold him from his allegiance to the faith "as it is in Christ." But we must remember that there is an element of Divine truth which we believe in common, and an element which we are unfaithful to our Master's teaching if we overlook. Or again, if we look below the surface, from nature's aspect to her operations, we see more there than the contrivance of a mighty machinist. For the great machinery lives, throbs, pulses with an energy which is ever at work controlling, transforming, quickening the stubborn atoms into versatile, obedient ministers to the free activity of man. Can we wonder if the miracle of matter hides all else from its too eager student, and he stops short in some form or other of materialistic creed. We may pity him, with humility, for all the hope he loses; but before we blame him, we who have not blanched our

cheeks or bleared our eyes in the dark mine, we must ask ourselves severely what use we have made of his life's labours. The more we learn of the importunate reality of matter and of its intimate connexion with the things we are accustomed to call spiritual, the more necessity we see for the Incarnation, if religion is ever to be adequate to human life in its entirety; and the more reasonableness in its sacramental application to our souls. This much at least the materialist ought to have taught us about God's world, and he can only have taught it by patient obedience to God's law of learning. We are bound to accept his teaching with thankfulness as seeing in it more than he ever dreamed of, but with trembling for the account of it we must one day give as representing the life of our brother laid down for our enlightenment. Physical science for the Christian means nothing less than a fresh flood of light. It is at our peril that we complacently treat it as if it were only one more foe.

So, too, with the civilization by which we are surrounded. It does not follow because we deny that Christianity could ever have been evolved out of the mere action of those complex forces which go to make up what we call secular civilization, that it is not largely indebted to those forces in every age, as beyond question was the case when it first began to overspread the world. We are familiar with the thought that the Roman roads, and the Roman law, and the universal language were part of a providential, "*præparatio evangelica*;" but many to whom this is a commonplace, shrink from the more important fact that the ideas which paved the way for, and the phrases which embodied the very cardinal truths of, our theology in early ages, were prepared in the schools of Athens for the work they were afterwards to do. But for that theology, which men have not scrupled to represent as a paganized corruption of the simplicity of the Gospel, the Gospel would never have been

preserved in its primitive integrity to after ages. For that theology was nothing more than the intellectual insistence upon the reality of the fact that "the Word was made flesh." And its authors were sustained and emboldened in their work by the conviction that it was the point to which the same eternal Word had in all philosophy and prophecy been guiding the minds of men.

But if the eternal Word was working in the thinkers of the early world, He cannot be less present among secular movements now. We often hear men speak as if with the advent of Christianity, the Spirit of God had retired from the extra-Christian world. But the very thought is a contradiction in terms. True, it is impossible in a complex age like ours to disentangle the different forces that are at work within society; and many a movement that seems extra-Christian, may have come from a Christian source; but even if this were not so, the principle would still remain that every good gift and every perfect gift cometh from above. The increase of political liberty, with all the opportunities for development and discipline of character, which self-government involves, the humaneness of modern law, the spread of sanitary science, with its consequent moral blessings, the mitigations of war, and increasing amity of nations, the extension of intellectual culture and the recognition of its value, all are due, through whatever agency they seem to come about, "to the Light that lighteth every man coming into the world."

This view of the Incarnation as the climax to which all life and thought lead up, has naturally found its most emphatic expression in intellectual ages, and at the Ephesus or Alexandria, the intellectual centres of their age. At times when thought was not, and the vital energies of the Christian Church were concentrated in a death struggle with the moral evil of the world, her speculative mission would lie in comparative abeyance. But never perhaps before has

it more needed reassertion, than in an age which looks at all things in the light of their evolution.

Our Lord Jesus Christ stands forth as the head and summary of that material creation, through whose gradual development He had all along been preparing for Himself a body—man made at last in the image of God. He stands forth as the final utterance of those eternal verities which philosophy had all along been struggling to express with stammering tongue and lisping lips—the Word made flesh. He stands as the goal in which all human progress finds its possibility, its meaning and its end—the way, the truth and the life. He is immanent, as we say, in all creation; but none the less He is its creator, and as such not only through all, but above all, God for ever. As long as we hold this truth firmly we cannot over-estimate the reality of His partial presence in materialism, in Pantheism, in secular civilization, and in all the various imperfect forms of moral conduct and religious creed. And it is our duty as Christians never to under-estimate that presence, not only because no part of God's revelation of Himself to men can, in the long run, be ever neglected with impunity; but also because it is only by these less direct methods of approach that many souls are capable of being led to Him at all. While on the other hand we may never rest content, till we have done all we can to lead men forward from the lesser to the larger light, from the vision through a glass darkly, to the vision face to face.

For what our Incarnate Lord is to the universe considered as a whole, and to humanity in the mass, He is also to the individual persons of which humanity consists. And the special mission of the Christian, as distinct from all other teachers, is to bring men one by one into personal relation with their Lord. For "personality" is the highest mode of existence known to our experience. The material of our bodies, and the thoughts of our minds, drift

through us like a stream, and are gone we know not where ; but the personality, the I, within us, remains from the cradle to the grave, self-identical, self-conscious, independent, irresponsible, alone ; the one supreme reality of which we are completely certain, and of which any solution of the universe, that is to satisfy, must take account. It is nothing to us to know that God dwells in matter, and moves in thought, and moulds the varying purposes of men to his own ends, unless He is in some relation to these "personalities" of ours, with their importunate claim to be ends in themselves, not instruments used and thrown aside. But persons can only really be united to a person, as we see in our daily life. It is not in the amusements, or the business, or even in the duties, which occupy our bodies, or brains, or wills, that we really live ; but in the contact which they involve, and the response that they call out from our fellows, our friends and dear ones, persons, like ourselves.

Hence the solitary significance of the Incarnation. On the one side it was a revelation, fuller only in degree, of the God who had been working hitherto in the material, the intellectual, the moral world. But on the other it was a revelation, different in kind, that God was not merely an impersonal "drift of tendency," nor supra-personal, in such sense as to obliterate His personality, but a Person, and as such, One in community with whom all human persons were destined to find the satisfaction of their complex being. This it is which differentiates Christianity from other creeds. It is not only obedience to a law, or even following an example, but union with a Person.

Now the point in which persons touch is the will. We may think like others, or act like others, without being really one with them. We are only one with them, when we will what they will, and because they will it. And

so the end and object of the Christian's will is to be conformed to the will of Christ. In the early stages of our life-long development, that will of Christ may only appear to us as an inexorable moral law, convincing us of sin; but as we struggle on, the commands of the law melt into the accents of a voice within us, more and more articulate, the more they are obeyed; and duties are done easily, and sanctions become needless, for it is God that worketh in us, both to will and to do of His good pleasure. And therefore Christian holiness is no less attainable than the more limited aims of conduct which we are so often advised to pursue; because we believe that the Holy Spirit dwells within us, to quicken us into living manifestations of Himself.

And from this follows our much-controverted Christian doctrine, that the intellectual is dependent upon the moral and spiritual life. Particular branches of knowledge may be successfully acquired, apart from the general character of the individual man who pursues them. But if the complete illumination of the intellect is only to be found in union with Him who is at once its Author, its object and its light—and personal holiness is the necessary condition of that union—it follows that only he who “doeth the will shall know of the doctrine,” despite of the familiar fact that many a distinguished thinker is actively anti-Christian either in conduct or in creed, while many a sincere Christian lives and dies in intellectual ignorance. For what is the secret of scientific success? Humility, the man of science will be the first to tell you, in receiving the revelation of nature's laws; obedience to those laws as one by one they are revealed to him; patience in the face of failure; perseverance to the end. But all these are moral qualities of God's ordaining, and precisely as he observes them the man of science will become to us a discoverer and teacher of the truth of God, and worthy of all the reverence which

God's instruments deserve. It is only when such an one stops short of, or denies, what we as Christians must believe to be the legitimate end and issue of his message, that we follow him no longer. He has taught us much which we lesser men should never have learned without him, and it is not for us to pry into the hidden causes of his further failure. Our Master's call is plain to us. What is that to thee? Follow thou Me. But diffident as we are, and ought to be, in maintaining our position against intellectual superiors, when we think what moral effort that superiority has cost; it is far otherwise when we face the misbelief of the average world. For one man, such as has been described, there are ten thousand misbelievers, who are what they are simply because they "do not the will." Pride, sloth, self-seeking, above all, sins of the flesh, in whatever shape or form, blind the eye, dull the ear, deaden the understanding to the things of God. And when men plead intellectual uncertainty, in defence of immoral life, they will find if they only look within, that they are mistaking effect for cause, and the source of all their malady is an evil *heart* of unbelief. Sin keeps them far away from the Person of Jesus Christ, and therefore from the Truth which is His thought embodied in the world. On the other hand the Christian, however ignorant he may seem of things external, is only beginning the process of his knowledge at the other end; from centre to circumference, instead of circumference to centre. He feels his personal nearness to the mind of Christ, and studies first to learn the dealings of that mind with his own soul. For there he sees the meaning of the bright ideals of his early life, and of all the joys and sorrows that have chequered his career, the bereavements, the frustrate purposes, the slow detachment from the world; the strangely occurrent whispers of consolation and of warning, the deepening insight, the increasing peace; till he can read through his whole history the special provi-

dence of One who loves him, and whose character and ways of working are revealed in that love. There is an indifference to earthly knowledge which only comes of indolence; but there is an indifference which belongs to those who have chosen the part of Mary, and cannot for a moment be away from Him they love. So the great politician, or philosopher, or poet, is known to the outer world by the work that he has done; but his child, his wife, his friend, who know the human heart within him, are content in that great knowledge to leave all else alone. It is this interior knowledge of the mind of Christ that the Christian, in proportion to his progress, feels himself to possess; and once possessed, it must thereafter give a new bias to his life. He will sympathize intensely with all the secular schemes and systems which in any way throw light on life and further the well-being of his fellow-men. But his own mission is to bear witness, at whatever risk of misconstruction, to the existence of the more excellent way. He welcomes the signs of progress in the dark places of the earth; but progress is slow, and time is short, and souls are dying every day; and "the one thing needful" is to bring them to the knowledge of the love of God, declared to us by Christ His Son.

But there remains yet another constituent of our human personality, beside our reason and our will—the body that is the instrument of all our thought and action, the wondrous garment interwoven with the very fibres of our soul, the messenger for good and evil between us and the world that is without. The more we learn in these modern days of the mystery of matter, of the ethereal subtlety of its elemental structure and its infinite capacity for spiritual expression, the more instinctively we feel that it is not destined to be done away. It is too wonderful, too beautiful, too real to have been created but for waste, by One who bids us gather up fragments that nothing may be lost.

And what are these bodies of ours, but the very flower of the material creation, adequate to every impulse of their animating soul. Is there no greater fate for them than meets the eye? So far nature leads us; but if we look then to the Word made flesh, we feel that our natural instinct is more than justified—for we see there a human body become the dwelling-place of God, and exhibiting, as a matter of history, in the few glimpses of its risen life, those infinite new capacities of our dim prophetic dreams. And the wisdom of the early Church becomes apparent in the grim tenacity with which, when philosophy meant idealism, and the secrets of matter were all unexplored, she clung to the reality of the human nature of her Lord. For only through the reality of that human nature can this last element of our personality, the body, rise to communion with the Eternal Word. There is a solidarity in the world of matter, linking its particles each to all; and individual things in their seeming distinctness are, when viewed from the material side, only the ripples of an ocean upon which they rise and fall. Each partial movement thrills the whole of it, and to touch it in a point is to touch it all. To this fact we owe much of the dark moral taint that we inherit from the days of old; but all the efficacy of its Christian antidote. For the leaven of the Incarnation leavened the whole lump. And in taking flesh upon Him, and transfiguring it by dying, the Word came into new contact, not only with the few in Palestine, whom He breathed upon, and sighed over, and healed by the trailing of His garment and the imposition of His hand; but with the human body everywhere, and its modes of material affection—sanctifying water to the mystical washing away of sin, consecrating bread and wine to holier purposes of sustenance, hallowing symbolic and ceremonial teaching, deepening the parables of nature and the significance of art. Yes; by His Incarnation, we are all brought nearer

to Himself—but contact is not communion. Many may touch and yet few be healed. Of bodily as of mental union with Him, the gateway is the will. For the will and not the body is the source and seat of sin. If the will is unholy, our nearness cannot but increase our alienation, as discord in a family is worse than with foreign foes. But if the will is holy, light and life and love flow into us through a thousand sacramental avenues from the risen body of our Lord.

By every channel, therefore, through which our personality radiates, we are called into communion with the Person of the Word made flesh—and the climax and completion of that communion is love. For love is not a function of part of our being, but of the whole. All other relations between men are in a measure abstract—they are concerned, that is, with their actions, or their thoughts, or their utility, as partners, colleagues, fellow-workers, employers, masters, slaves—with reference to some object that lies outside themselves. But if we love men it is for their own sake—because they are what they are. For love, and love alone, rests in its object as an end.

In appealing to our love, therefore, God appeals to our whole personality: and in revealing Himself as Love, He reveals His presence, along the ages, in all the yearnings of the human heart; to guide men to the one home in which alone they could find rest.

“To comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge,” is the privilege only of personal religion,—a vision to elect souls in pilgrimage among desert places of the unitive way. The humbler province of our theology is to tell those who have not seen it, that for them, too, the vision waits.

In the deepest, in the fullest sense, seeing only is believing; but in an age like ours, of keen inquiry, we may

lead many to come and see, by showing them that Christianity includes and finds a place for the affirmative assertions of all the other creeds; while by rejecting their negations, their exclusion that is, of it and of each other, it is more comprehensive, as a theory of the world, and therefore presumably more true. And in doing this we are not acting in any spirit of extorted concession; but reasserting the primitive doctrine, that the Eternal Word who created all things has been present from the beginning in the material world; in the course of philosophic thought; in the secular progress of mankind; in the wills, in the minds, in the bodies, in the whole persons of His saints; revealing more fully, in each new stage of universal evolution, "the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God—Who created all things by Christ Jesus, to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus, our Lord.

J. R. ILLINGWORTH.

LIGHTFOOT ON THE IGNATIAN EPISTLES.

II. GENUINENESS AND DATE OF THE EPISTLES.

2. HERESY. In his seventh proposition, Lightfoot maintained that the types of false doctrine which Ignatius combated, afford an evidence of the genuineness of the Epistles. In vol. i. pp. 359-368, he has carefully examined the statements in the Epistles regarding heresy,¹ and has reached the conclusion, that Ignatius has considered only one class of heretics, namely, *Judaistic Doketists*. Since now such heretics have been combated also in the Epistle

¹ See also pp. 368-375.

to the Colossians and in the Pastoral Epistles, while they do not appear at a later period, there is found in this a sure proof of the extreme antiquity of the Ignatian Epistles.¹

Lightfoot is certainly right in calling attention to the absence of any polemic against Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion as a negative sign of the genuineness.² But from the characteristics of the heretics no positive argument can be obtained for the genuineness of the Epistles; for the statement that Ignatius combats the Judaistic Doketists in the Epistles is in my opinion incorrect. His polemic against the Judaists and his polemic against the Doketists should not be mixed up together. Since Lightfoot, however, can appeal on behalf of the contrary opinion to the consensus of most scholars of modern times,³ this point demands a more careful examination.⁴

In two of the seven Epistles—in the Epistle to Polycarp and in that to the Romans—generally speaking there is no delineation of the heretics.⁵ This is explained in the former case, by Ignatius having dealt very fully with heresy in the Epistle to the members of the Church of Smyrna, written about the same time; and in the latter case, from the fact that there was no heresy then existing in Rome.⁶ Nevertheless, he employs even in these Epistles formulæ and expressions which show clearly that he has constructed

¹ See vol. i. p. 368. "The strongly marked type of Doketism assailed in these letters, so far from being a difficulty is rather an indication of an early date."

² The very trace of a polemic against Valentinus vanishes when the correct text in Magnes. chap. viii. has been restored: *λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών*.

³ Pre-eminently to Zahn (*Ignatius von Antiochien*, p. 356 sq.); and also to Lipsius, Uhlhorn, and others.

⁴ Hilgenfeld (*Apostol. Väter*, S. 231 sq.) is in agreement with my view to which I had already given expression in my work, *Die Zeit des Ignatius*, S. 2.

⁵ In the Epistle to Polycarp (chap. iii.) there is to be found only the following general exhortation:—*οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀξιώπιστοι εἶναι καὶ ἐτεροδιδασκαλοῦντες μὴ σε καταπληστέωσαν*.

⁶ See the Address of the Epistle to the Romans in which Ignatius congratulates the Church on its being free from all strange doctrines.

his own system of theology in opposition to Doketism.¹ The confession regarding the reality of the historical appearing of Christ, His suffering, death, and resurrection, is with Ignatius the fundamental Christian confession, not only in opposition to heresy, but also in and for itself. All blessings, which the Christian possesses, spring from "the suffering of our God;" the flesh of Christ, "who is of the seed of David," is our meat, etc. Since Ignatius also uses such formulæ in the Epistle to the Romans, it is evident that one must not conclude from the employment of them in the Epistles, that in the Churches addressed Doketists were actually present. Only in cases where Ignatius expressly warns against them can the existence of such Doketists be regarded as proved. Just as the preaching of justification by faith alone in a Protestant Church does not prove the presence in that Church of crypto-catholics—because this preaching can be opposed to all heresies, and because it must ever be repeated apart altogether from heresies—even so the anti-Doketic propositions of Ignatius in and by themselves do not prove that Doketism existed in the Churches to which he wrote.² After this indispensable preliminary remark, we proceed to consider the Epistles to the Ephesians, Trallians, Smyrnæans, Magnesians, and Philadelphians. Lightfoot's most important service consists in his having brought out distinctly the individuality of the several Epistles. But in his treatment of the question of heresy, he has not remained faithful to the method which otherwise he has so successfully employed.

In the most comprehensive and most carefully elaborated

¹ See Polyc. chap. iii.: *προσδόκα τὸν ἄχρονον, τὸν ἀράτον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὄρατὸν, τὸν ἀψηλάφητον, τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητὸν, τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομελῶντα.* Rom. chap. vi.: *ἐκείνον ζητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα, ἐκείνον θέλω, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα . . . ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μου.* Chap. vii.: *ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω, ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ, καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος.*

² Ignatius would first meet with and learn to abhor Doketic Christology, not in Asia Minor, but in Syria.

Epistle, that to the Ephesians, Ignatius appeals to the testimony of the Ephesian bishop, that no heresy existed in the church, and that they refused to listen to false teachers.¹ *Εἰώθασιν γάρ τινες*—he continues in the seventh chapter—*δόλω πονηρῶ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πρᾶσσοντες ἀνάξια Θεοῦ οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκκλίνειν εἰσὶν γὰρ κύνες λυσσῶντες λαθροδιῆκται, οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς φυλάσσεσθαι ὄντας δυσθεραπεύτους.* This exhortation is repeated four times in the Epistle,² for he warns against *κακοδιδασκαλία*, and, *c.g.* in chap. ix. at the beginning, he expressly points to false teachers who had been passing through Ephesus.³ But this is all that we here learn of the heretics. Ignatius says nothing in any single passage regarding the nature of their false teaching. But he does give expression in several passages in the most decided way to the anti-Doketic confession,⁴ and since, once, in chap. ix., the warning against heresy follows immediately, it may be conjectured that here at least he has the Doketists in view. Still this conclusion is not quite certain, since an anti-Doketic confession stands in chapter xx. without having in this connexion any reference to heretics. Faith in the reality of the historical appearing of “our God,” together with subordination to the bishop, appears to Ignatius as the means of salvation from all evil, and as the source of all blessings. But it is deserving of special notice that there is not a single word about Judaists, or any warning against Judaism.

The state of matters in the Epistle to the Trallians is quite clear. This Church is warned against Doketists, and against them only.⁵ Ignatius wishes by this warning to

¹ See chap. vi.

² See chap. viii., beginning; chap. ix., beginning; chap. xvi.; and chap. xvii., beginning.

³ *Ἐργων παραδεύσαντάς τινας ἐκείθεν, ἔχοντας κακὴν διδαχὴν.* What place is to be understood by *ἐκείθεν* is uncertain.

⁴ See especially, chaps. ix., xviii., and xx.

⁵ See chaps. vi.–xi., espec. chap. x.: *εἰ δέ, ὡσπερ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὄντες, τουτέστιν ἄπιστοι, λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ.*

prevent a *possible* seduction. He says expressly that hitherto the Church has continued pure. Here again there is not the slightest reference to Jews or Judaists.

From the Epistle to the Smyrnæans it seems that this Church was most severely threatened with danger from the seductions of heretics, but had hitherto shown itself valiant. In this Epistle Ignatius begins immediately with a polemic against the heretics, and continues it down to the seventh chapter. That these were Doketists admits of no doubt,¹ but we discover in this Epistle other characteristics of these heretics. They are people puffed up with pride, carried away by their heavenly knowledge, and despising faith in the blood of Christ. In regard to this, he says: *περὶ ἀγάπης οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς, οὐ περὶ χήρας, οὐ περὶ ὀρφανοῦ, οὐ περὶ θλιβομένου, οὐ περὶ δεδεμένου ἢ λελυμένου, οὐ περὶ πεινῶντος ἢ διχῶντος· εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν.* Here we have the picture of the Gnostics with which we are familiar in Irenæus and Tertullian; they are the assembly of the knowing ones, and they put out of sight the practical tasks of Christianity. There is nowhere any reference to Judaisers.²

The conclusions to be drawn from what we have seen are these: in the Epistles to the Trallians and to the Smyrnæans, and probably also in the Epistle to the Ephesians, Doketic Gnostics are combated; in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, these are most distinctly characterised. There were teachers gathering about who sought to found a sect within the Churches; and for them Ignatius can only give

¹ See chap. ii.; ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν· οὐ ὥσπερ ἀπιστοὶ εἶνες λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὄντες.

² The words (chap. v.): οὐκ οὐκ ἐπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι οὐ δὲ ὁ νόμος Μωσέως, ἀλλ' οὐ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (see also chap. vii. p. 308)—might be uttered against any heresy.

expression to the deepest abhorrence: ¹ they ought not to be received, yea, wherever possible, one should not even once meet with them. There is not the slightest intercourse between them and Ignatius. *That they recommend the observance of the law of Moses, and are connected with the Jews, is affirmed in no single passage, or even hinted at.* Least of all in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, in which the heretics are so carefully delineated, would their Judaism have been overlooked, if they had been Judaists.

An entirely different picture is preserved in the Epistle to the Magnesians. In chapters i. to vii. and xii. to xv. there is no allusion made to any sort of heretics. On the other hand the section embracing the 8th, 9th, and 10th chapters begins with the words: *Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις μηδὲ μυθεύμασιν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνωφελέσιν οὖσιν· εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι*, and ends with the words: *Ἄτοπον ἔστιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λαλεῖν καὶ Ἰουδαΐζειν· ὁ γὰρ Χριστιανισμὸς οὐκ εἰς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ' Ἰουδαϊσμὸς εἰς Χριστιανισμὸν, ᾧ πᾶσα γλῶσσα πιστεύσασα εἰς Θεὸν συνήχθη.* The subject treated of here is the danger of falling back into the Jewish mode of life in respect of the ceremonial law. Hence we find in this section clear notions which one would seek for in vain in the Epistles to the Ephesians, Trallians, and Smyrnæans, namely: *μυθεύματα τὰ παλαία* (chap. viii.), *παλαία πράγματα* (chap. ix.), *ἡ κακὴ ζύμη, ἡ παλωθεισα καὶ ἐνοξίσασα* (chap. ix.), *νέα ζύμη* (chap. x.), *καινότης ἐλπίδος* (chap. ix.), *σαββατίζειν* (chap. ix.), *κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες* (chap. ix.), *κατὰ Χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν* (chap. x.), *Ἰουδαΐζειν* (chap. x.), etc. It is further said, that the Old Testament Prophets themselves

¹ Eph. chap. vii. *θηρία, κύνες λυσώντες, λαθροδῆκται, δυσθεράπευται.* Chap. xvii. *δυσώδια τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.* Trall. vi. *θανάσιμον φάρμακον.* Chap. viii. *αἱ ἐνέδραι τοῦ διαβόλου.* Chap. xi. *καρπὸς θανατηφόρος.* Chap. x. *ἄθεοι, ἄπιστοι.* Smyrn. chap. ii. *ἄπιστοι, ὄντες δαιμονικοί.* Chap. iv. *θηρία τὰ ἀνθρωπομόρφα.* Chap. v. *συνήγοροι τοῦ θανάτου,* etc.

lived after Christ Jesus (chap. viii.), that they were disciples of Christ and waited for Him (chap. ix.), that Jesus Christ is not merely a man, such as we are, but the Son of God and the Logos of God ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών (chap. viii.). From this it follows that Ignatius here combats a tendency to fall back into Ebionitism. In this connexion it is to be observed: (1) that he warns emphatically not against a false doctrine but against a false life; (2) that he here utters no word of abhorrence and revolt, but in a calm, fatherly, friendly address combats the Judaizing, and (3) that he does not speak of false teachers who press into the Church from without, but of a danger that can happen to a Church only as proceeding from the bosom of the Church itself.¹ *We have here a totally different picture from that presented to us in the Epistle previously examined.* But are there not here certain features, which show that this Ebionitism was associated with Doketism? Lightfoot affirms this, but wrongly. He appeals, first of all, to this that Ignatius speaks of πλανᾶσθαι, ἑτεροδοξίαι, κενοδοξία, as in the other Epistles; but it is difficult to understand why the Judaistic danger should not be so indicated, particularly as to ἑτεροδοξίαις is added μυθεύμασι τοῖς παλαιοῖς. Lightfoot thinks, secondly, that in chap. ix. (p. 130, 1 sq.), an allusion to Doketism must be admitted. But, (1) the true reading is not ὅν τινες ἀρνοῦνται, but ὅ τινες ἀρν.; so that it will refer to the whole preceding sentence; (2) Zahn has already correctly perceived that ὅ τινες is the beginning of a parenthesis of Ignatius which extends to p. 134, 4; it can therefore scarcely be made use of as indicating a characteristic of the danger. But even apart from this, that which Ignatius has here said, may very well be said of Judaists. There is therefore absolutely no ground for the assertion that in the Magnesian Epistle, Ignatius has uttered a warning against

¹ See chap. xi; ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν τινὰς ἐξ ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχοντας ἀλλ' ὡς μικρότερος ὑμῶν θέλω προφυλάσσεισθαι ὑμᾶς.

Judaistic Doketism.¹ He has uttered a warning against Judaism and has combated it by reference to a Pauline thought (chap. viii. p. 124, 2 sq.), by maintaining that already the Prophets had lived after Jesus Christ, and by the reminder that Jesus Christ is the perfect revelation of the one God (*υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών*). These arguments have absolutely nothing to do with Doketism. The Judaists, then, in the Epistle to the Magnesians were certainly not Doketists, and the Doketists described in the Epistles to the Ephesians, Trallians, and Smyrnæans were not Judaists.

This fact would indeed be misunderstood by no one, if the Epistles of Ignatius had come to us without the Epistle to the Philadelphians. It is in fact this Epistle which has led scholars astray. It is the least calm and the worst arranged of all the seven Epistles: The news which Ignatius, while upon his journey, had received at Troas, from Philadelphia, were in part painful to him. He wrote the letter in haste, and this accounts for its abruptness in many passages. Still even here it may be shown that there is no foundation for the idea that Ignatius combats Judaistic Doketists. Chapter ii. 4, contains quite general warnings against heretical and schismatical intrigues.² A new section evidently begins with chapter v.

¹ Lightfoot still appeals to chap. xi. (p. 135, 10 sq). From the confession of Ignatius it follows that even in Magnesia the danger of Doketic error was present. But what has been observed above should here be taken into account, that nothing can be concluded from the anti-Doketic confessions of Ignatius. Just as in the present day, at German Pastoral Conferences, the discussion of the various forms of modern theological systems is regularly concluded by the recitation of the Apostles' Creed, so too Ignatius is ever repeating in season and out of season his *ἀληθῶς πραχθέντα*. Moreover in regard to chap. xi. in particular it is still to be observed,—(1) that the anti-Doketic element in this Confession does not bulk very largely (see on the other hand, *e.g.* Eph. vii. and Smyrn. i.), and (2) that Ignatius has already in chap. x. ended the description of the peril that threatened the Church.

² Lightfoot wishes to conclude from the greeting that Ignatius refers to Doketists. I dissent from this. See above.

which reaches down to chapter vi. (p. 265, 8). It is in thorough agreement with Magnes. chap. viii.-x. Here there is a warning against Judaism and against nothing else. Even Lightfoot has not been able to discover in this section any traces of Doketism. Chapter vi. (p. 265, 8-12) brings forward quite suddenly a personal remark, with which is joined a self justification of Ignatius which is somewhat dark to us. It deals with the attempt of some schismatics, who are not more particularly designated, to win over Ignatius to their side. This had happened at the time when he was in Philadelphia. He did not allow himself to be talked over by them, but had his answers ready for them: τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καὶ διακόνοις (chap. vii.). After his departure, however, some one represented it as if he had not been sufficiently decided in opposition to these people. How can any one suppose that these were the same Doketists whom he combated in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans! How very differently had he spoken against these, from what we find in the seventh chapter! No, they were enthusiasts, separating from the fellowship of the Church, who sought to win him over. They were neither Judaists, nor Doketists, nor Judaistic Doketists. The unity of the Philadelphian Church was thus threatened, (1) by Judaism, (2) by enthusiastic schismatics. But yet a third danger was present; and this forms the subject of a section in chapters viii. and ix. (p. 269, 13, to p. 276, 4). There were contentious people¹ in the Church who would on no account set up the Jewish manner of life,—it is not such that are referred to—but who, like the Apologists in later times, made their faith in the gospel dependent upon the Old Testament prophecy. They

¹ Consider the introduction of the section: παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθείαν πράσσειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Χριστομαθίαν. Here the question is not about heretics or schismatics in the strict sense of the word, but about theologians who underestimated the supremacy of the gospel over against the Old Testament.

would only believe that which had been prophesied in the Old Testament.¹ In regard to this Ignatius admits, on the one hand, that everything is written down in the Old Testament, that has been fulfilled in the gospel; but he confesses, on the other hand, that the supreme authority is Jesus Christ Himself, His cross, His death, His resurrection, and that the men of God of the Old Testament are in no particular over Christ, but had need of Him as the door of entrance to God. There is absolutely no reference to Doketism.

From the Epistle to the Philadelphians then we obtain a much more complicated picture of the Church, than from the Epistles to the Ephesians, Trallians and Magnesians. Ignatius here combated very different errors, and shows us a Church which is agitated by different movements. This is not surprising, *if Ignatius was acquainted with the Church at Philadelphia from personal knowledge, but not so with those others.*

To gather up the results thus reached: the identification of the Judaists and the Gnostics in the Ignatian Epistles is quite inadmissible. Ignatius combats the Doketists in the Epistles to the Ephesians, the Trallians, and Smyrnæans, while in the Epistles to the Magnesians and Philadelphians he warns against the Ebionistic danger. In the last named Epistle especially he warns against other tendencies which threatened the unity of the Church.

When Lightfoot affirms that "the earliest forms of Christian Gnosticism were Judaic," I will not contradict him.² The Ignatian Epistles, however, do not show us those

¹ Such cultured Christians were numerous in the second century. Augustine in a well known passage has said; *evangelio non crederem, nisi me commoveret ecclesiæ catholicæ auctoritas.* In regard to those Christians, especially in regard to the Apologists, the words may be used in an altered form: *evangelio non crederem, nisi me commoveret Veteris Testamenti auctoritas.* It is this view that Ignatius combats.

² Lightfoot refers to the errors combated in the Epistle to the Colossians, and in the Pastoral Epistles.

earliest forms, but the usual Gentile forms of Christian Gnosticism. Therefore, an argument for the genuineness of the Epistles can no more be obtained here than from the delineation of the Episcopate.

ii. THE DATE OF THE EPISTLES.

The Epistles of Ignatius and the Epistle of Polycarp are no forgeries; they are written by the men by whom they profess to have been written,—by an Antiochian Bishop Ignatius, and by the Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, of whom Irenæus, Polycrates, and Tertullian have spoken with great respect, whose martyrdom has been described to us by eye-witnesses. But when were these Epistles composed? Lightfoot answers, in the age of Trajan (A.D. 100–118), for he regards a more exact determination of the date as impossible. He reaches this conclusion on the ground of researches, which in regard to scholarship must awaken the astonishment and admiration of all.¹ I feel specially called upon to thank him for the painstaking consideration he has given to my work, *Die Zeit des Ignatius*.²

But is this judgment pronounced by Lightfoot with such confidence one that can stand the test? I believe that it cannot; and further, I think the admittedly profound learning of Lightfoot has contributed little or nothing to the main question, and that he has not rightly comprehended the problem. After he has convinced himself and his readers of the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp, Lightfoot seeks immediately to clear away the objections, which are brought against assigning the Epistle to the age of Trajan. But this is not the proper method. In the entire Ignatian controversy, the Epistle of Polycarp is the one

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 433–470.

² Leipzig, 1878. See also my Article in the *Theol. Lit. Zeitung*, 1884. No. 6.

fixed point. From it, therefore, without reference to the Ignatian Epistles, we must proceed in determining the chronological question.¹

1. What does the external evidence tell us of the date of the Epistle of Polycarp? It tells us absolutely nothing. No ecclesiastical writer has mentioned the Emperor during whose reign the Epistle was written, or has otherwise given any indication of its date. So the letter may have been written any time between A.D. 100-155.

2. What does the Epistle itself say about the time of its composition? Directly it says nothing at all. The state of matters in Philippi, which it presupposes, may have existed just as well in A.D. 150 as in 100. But certain indications are yet discernible. (1) Polycarp has freely used all the Pauline Epistles with the exception of Colossians, Philemon, 1st Thessalonians, and Titus, and likewise the Epistle of Clement of Rome, written about the year A.D. 96, and also, though without naming the authors, 1st Peter and 1st John. It may be assumed with great probability that Polycarp had before him the thirteen Pauline Epistles. It is certainly *possible* that these Epistles had been already collected by the years A.D. 100, but there is no probability in favour of this view. The use of the First Epistle of Clement also proves this opinion. (2) Polycarp writes in chap. vii.: Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντιχριστός ἐστιν καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λέγῃ μῆτε ἀνάστασιν μῆτε κρίσιν, οὗτος πρωτότοκος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Whoever considers these words without reference to the Ignatian Epistles, will regard them as pointing

¹ Lightfoot proceeds by the directly opposite method. See, for example, his treatment of Polyc. chap. vii. "The passage in the Epistle, if genuine, must have been written before A.D. 118." Why? Lightfoot answers: "Because the Epistles of Ignatius were certainly written before 118." But this is just the question.

not to the time of Trajan, but to that of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Of "Judaic-Christian Gnosis," there is no mention here at all. We have rather the repudiation of the most important characteristics of cultured, Gentile-Christian Gnosticism, the Doketism from which proceeded the evaporating of the redeeming work of Christ, and the corrections for a purpose (*tendenzios*) of the traditional words of the Lord, regarding the resurrection of the body and the dramatic judgment of the world. With some probability, we may here even take a step further. These words suit no one better than Marcion, who must have been already working in Asia Minor in A.D. 130-140. Yea, so far as we know, the description of full-blown Doketism in combination with the *μεθοδεύειν τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου*, applies to him only in Asia Minor. Of him also the strong expressions—*ἀντίχριστος, υἱὸς τοῦ διαβόλου, πρωτότοκος τοῦ Σατανᾶ*—can be appropriately used. Justin, too, the earliest opponent of Marcion known to us, designates Marcion alongside of Simon Magus and Menander, as a messenger of the demons.¹ Now we know on abundant testimony that Polycarp calls Marcion *πρωτότοκος τοῦ Σατανᾶ*.² Polycarp certainly in his long life may have applied this expression to other heretics, but we have no instance of this. If it be regarded not as a mere general abusive term, but as one to be taken in its strict sense, only one can be the first-born of Satan.³ Lightfoot, however, seeks by two arguments to demonstrate the impossibility of

¹ See *Apol.*, i. 26.

² See Irenæus iii. 3, 4: *καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος Μαρκίωνα ποτὲ εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι, ἐπιγινώσκεις ἡμᾶς; ἀπεκρίθη· ἐπιγινώσκω σε τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ.*

³ Lightfoot shelters himself under the following possibility; he says (vol. i. p. 572), "Irenæus, as he tells us in the context, was acquainted with the Epistle, and it is quite possible that in repeating the story of Polycarp's interview with Marcion he inadvertently imported into it the expression which he had read in the Epistle." Fortunately Lightfoot himself regards this desperate expedient as not very probable.

referring the expression in chap. vii. to Marcion.¹ In the first place, Marcion was a rigid ascetic; hence Polycarp cannot say of him, that he alters the words of the Lord "according to his own carnal lust." In the second place, it is not true of Marcion, that he denied the Judgment, for according to Marcion, the God of the Jews is the Judge. I regret that Lightfoot should have brought forward these two arguments. Why should *πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας* be understood in a carnal sense? In many places *ἐπιθυμία* means the wilful, evil affections of the heart, without any idea of fleshly lusts being present. I refer only to 2 Tim. iv. 3: *ἔσται γὰρ καιρὸς ὅτε τῆς ὑγιαίνουσης διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἀνέξονται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισωρεύσουσιν διδασκάλους.* As regards the Judgment, we may compare *Tertull. adv. Marc.*, i. 27: "Marcionitæ interrogati, quid fiet peccatori cuique die illo? respondent abjici illum quasi ab oculis." This *abjectio* they expressly distinguished from the Judgment. Hence Tertullian in a long discussion shows that there must be a judgment, and that Marcion involves himself in self-contradictions. The Jewish God is certainly *judicialis* according to Marcion, but that is not the point here in question. The matter under discussion here is whether Marcion denied that great final Judgment which Jesus and the apostles had preached. Thus the words of Polycarp, *λέγη μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν*, are thoroughly applicable to Marcion, who struck out or explained away all the passages of Luke's Gospel which referred to the resurrection of the body, and to the Judgment day of the Father of Jesus Christ.

The result of what we have said is this: *There are no arguments of undoubted certainty to show that Polycarp's Epistle was written after 130, but all indications of time point to this date, and make it very probable that the Epistle*

¹ See vol. i. p. 570 sq.

was not composed earlier.¹ On the other hand, not even a single observation can be quoted which recommends the assigning of the Epistle to the period between A.D. 100–130, or still less, between 100 and 118.²

We pass now to the Ignatian Epistles. These *must*—and here we agree with Lightfoot—have been written some time before the Epistle of Polycarp. But has Lightfoot brought forth any argument from the Epistles themselves on behalf of the opinion that they originated between A.D. 100 and 118? In his large work I have not found one. The Epistles do not name any emperor, any pro-consul, any year. They leave us, therefore, at perfect liberty to bring them down to the first half of the second century, where we can best understand them. There will still be always present in them an element enigmatical enough, wherever we place them; but the direction which Polycarp's Epistle affords us is still very helpful. No one can deny that the Ignatian Epistles correspond better with what we know of the earliest Church history if we assign it to the year 130 rather than to an earlier date. We find it more conceivable that at that time the monarchical episcopate had already obtained a firm footing in Asia Minor; the sentence—*οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὀρισθέντες* (Eph. iii.)—is less difficult; that the Gnostic Doketism was already so widely spread is more easily comprehended. That Ignatius did not speak of the Apostle John in the Epistle to the Ephesians is less of a stumbling block, if it was written about A.D. 130–140, than if it had been written about A.D. 100. That Ignatius wrote of the *λόγος ἀπὸ συγῆς προελθών*, and combated those Christian teachers who would put faith in the Gospel only on the ground of the au-

¹ I do not believe it would have occurred to any one to assign the Epistle of Polycarp to the age of Trajan, if the Ignatian Epistles had not existed.

² Even Lightfoot has not been able to quote any single passage from Polycarp's Epistle, which would make it probable that this Epistle was written between the years 100 and 118.

thority of the Old Testament, is more in accordance with the age of the Apologists than with that of Trajan. In a word, the indications of time which have led us to assign the Epistle of Polycarp to the year 130, are confirmed by the Ignatian Epistles, while no single passage in the seven Epistles of Ignatius can be pointed to as supporting the view that they could not have been written later than the age of Trajan.

If, however, we should convince ourselves that the Epistles were composed in the age of Trajan, we should take the more difficult step, and assign the Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp to the age of John, because a hundred years later Origen named Ignatius as the second bishop of Antioch after Peter, and because two hundred years later Eusebius asserted that Ignatius had suffered martyrdom under Trajan.

I have shown in my work on the Age of Ignatius that we do not possess other authorities for the date of Ignatius' martyrdom, and Lightfoot has acknowledged this. Setting aside what is disputed,¹ let us estimate the value of these two witnesses.

(1) Before Eusebius, that is, before the beginning of the fourth century, no one, so far as we know, associated Ignatius with Trajan. From the statement of Origen it can only be concluded that he possessed a list of Antiochian bishops in which Ignatius was named as the second bishop after Peter.² When Origen says that Ignatius fought ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ at Rome with wild beasts, this naturally is no independent statement, but is taken from

¹ It is possible that Hort is right in his modification of my hypothesis as to the relations of the Antiochian and Roman lists of bishops (see vol. ii. p. 461 sq.). I shall not here enter further into the question, but shall assume Hort and Lightfoot's standpoint that Eusebius was acquainted with the fact that Ignatius suffered martyrdom under Trajan. I shall even set aside Julius Africanus, as I have not found time to work up the whole subject.

² According to Athanasius, however (*de Synod. Arimini et Seleucia*, 47), Ignatius is ὁ μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατασταθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος.

the Epistles of Ignatius.¹ The chronological statements regarding Ignatius therefore begin, not with an account of the date of his martyrdom, but with a statement of his position in the record of Antiochian bishops. But such statements deserve no credence in and by themselves, but must first prove their credibility. A cautious critic will be just as slow to accept the chronology of a list of Antiochian bishops first appearing in the third century, as to admit that Linus was the first bishop of Rome. The truth of the statement that Ignatius was the second bishop of Antioch, we have no means of sifting.

(2) Eusebius in his Church History has not expressly said that it was under Trajan that Ignatius suffered martyrdom. He has not placed Ignatius in any distinct connexion with Trajan. He has indeed appealed to vague tradition about Ignatius in connexion with the Epistles;² but he has not in his Church History founded any chronological result upon this tradition.

(3) In his Chronicle—I take the most favourable instance—Eusebius, on the ground of a tradition that had reached him (not on account of an arbitrary arrangement), placed in the time of Trajan the martyrdom of Ignatius, whom he reckons, as in the Church History, the second of the Antiochian bishops, and this notice is the source of all later assertions of the same date. Even if we were not in the position to gainsay this statement, ought we to suspend by spider's thread of a fourth century *Λόγος* the weight of a decision, which sets for us a hundred questions? Should we give no consideration to all internal grounds? Still it is possible to traverse this position. First of all, the report is demonstrable that Ignatius was the second of the

¹ In opposition to Lightfoot who regards himself as justified in concluding from this expression that Origen puts the martyrdom of Ignatius, either under Domitian, or under Trajan.

² *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 36, 3: *Λόγος δ' ἔχει τοῦτον ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀναπεμφθέντα θηρίων γενέσθαι βορὰν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἕνεκεν.*

bishops of Antioch; then, a hundred years later, comes the report that he died in the persecution under Trajan. Now where but in the time of Trajan should chronologists of the third century place the death of the second bishop of Antioch? The time of Domitian was too early and that of Hadrian or of Antoninus Pius was too late. In the two propositions, that Ignatius suffered martyrdom in a persecution, and that he was the second bishop of Antioch, we have the premisses of Eusebius' declaration that he suffered death under Trajan.

To sum up my judgment :—*The Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp were probably written after the year A.D. 130; that they had been composed so early as A.D. 100 or 118, is a mere possibility, which is highly improbable, because it is not supported by any word in the Epistles, and because it rests only upon a late and very problematic witness.*

I here conclude my notes on this work. If I have allowed expressions of dissent to bulk more largely than indications of agreement, it is not because the former are in excess of the latter. But just because on so many points I agree with the author, I have felt under obligation to examine fully those questions, on which he has not convinced me. I close with the expression of my heartiest thanks for the pleasure which I have obtained from the study of this admirable work.

Giessen.

A. HARNACK.

CHRISTUS CONSUMMATOR.

LESSONS FROM THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

III. THE KING PRIEST.

“Having then a great High Priest, who hath passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our confession. For we have not a High Priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but one that hath been in all points tempted like as *we are, yet* without sin. Let us therefore draw near with boldness to the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy, and may find grace to help us in time of need.”—HEB. iv. 14-16 (Rev. Vers.); vii. 26; viii. 1.

No thoughtful person can seriously regard the circumstances of his life without feeling the need of forgiveness and the need of strengthening. He looks back upon the past and he sees not only failures, but unnecessary failures. “He has done what he ought not to have done, and he has not done what he ought to have done.” He looks forward to the future, and he sees that while the difficulties of duty do not grow less with added years, the freshness of enthusiasm fades away, and the temptation to accept a lower standard of action grows more powerful. Perhaps in the words of Hood’s most touching lyric, he thinks “he’s farther off from heaven Than when he was a boy.” At any rate, he does feel that in himself he has not reached and cannot reach that for which he was born, that which the spirit of divine discontent within him, a discontent made keener by temporal success, still marks as his one goal of peace. For when Augustine said, *Tu nos fecisti ad te, Domine, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te*, he proclaimed a fact to which every soul bears witness in the silence of its self-communings. We know that we were made for God; we know that we have been separated from God; we know that we cannot acquiesce in the desolation of that divorce.

We know, I say, that we have been separated from God. The sense of this separation makes itself felt in two ways.

When we reflect what God is and what we are we shrink from His presence; and we confess that we are unworthy to do Him service. At the same time, by a splendid contradiction, we still seek instinctively for some way of access by which we may draw near to Him, and for some channel of grace through which our sin-stained tribute may be brought before His throne.

So it has been that men in every age have made priests for themselves, to stand between them and their God, to offer in some acceptable form the sacrifices which are the acknowledgment of sin, and the gifts which are the symbol of devotion. The institution of the priesthood has been misused, degraded, overlaid with terrible superstitions, but in its essence it corresponds with the necessities of our nature. Therefore it has been interpreted and fulfilled in the Bible. And we can yet learn much from the figures of the Levitical system in which the priesthood of *this world* was fashioned by the Spirit of God in a form of marvellous significance and beauty. The law of the priestly service in the Old Testament is indeed a vivid parable of the needs, the aim, the benediction of human life. Day by day, morning and evening, the broad lessons of atonement and consecration were read with simple and solemn emphasis; and once in the year, on the Great Day of Atonement, "the Day," as it was called, the lessons were set forth in detail with every accessory of majestic ritual, so that the simplest worshipper could hardly fail to take to himself with intelligent faith the warnings and the consolations of the august ceremonial. On that day, as will be remembered, the High Priest, after elaborate cleansings, for himself, for his family, and for the people, arrayed in white robes, entered, in the virtue of a surrendered life, into the dark chamber, which God was pleased to make His dwelling place, and offered incense in the golden censer, and sprinkled the blood, and uttered aloud, according to tradition, on that occasion only,

the most sacred Name; and then, after completing the purification of the whole Temple, he dismissed into the wilderness the scape-goat on which he had laid the sins of the people. On that day, though but for a passing moment, Israel in their representative appeared before the revealed presence of the Lord their God. On that day they received from Him most directly the assurance of forgiveness and blessing—*mercy and grace to help in time of need*.

Now we can, I think, all understand what must have been the consolation, the strength, the joy, with which that service inspired the faithful Jew. How it must have spoken peace in the name of Jehovah to the troubled conscience, and brought vigour to the trembling; how, as the passing weeks added weight to the burden of remembered sins, the people must have looked forward to the message brought again from the innermost sanctuary of Truth, that the divine compassion was as vast as their distress; how in the power of that visible pardon they would, within a few days, join in the Feast of Tabernacles, “the holiest and greatest” of all their festivals, and show for a brief space the gladness of social life fulfilled by the gift and in the sight of God.

We can understand all this; and therefore, when we make the effort, we can understand what the Hebrew Christians must have felt when they found themselves at last excluded from all share in this consolation, this strength, this joy, which they had known from their childhood.

Here was a trial which reached to the very foundation of their spiritual life. It was not only that they were condemned to suffering; that might be a beneficent chastening of sons. But they seemed to be bereft of the appointed assurance, given in a form suited to the conditions of earth, that God was accessible to man.

This was a distress which called for a deep-reaching remedy; and the writer of the Epistle meets it as he meets all distress. He does not direct his readers as he might

have done, and the fact calls for careful thought, to the outward institutions of the Christian society; he does not show how provision had been made by the love of God to bring the power of the Gospel to bear on the whole range of human life, outward and inward; he does not point out how sacraments as revelations of the eternal go immeasurably beyond types which are prophecies of the future. He leads the Hebrews in their forlorn loneliness at once to Christ, to *Jesus, the Son of God*. He recognises with tender sympathy, he alone we must notice of the apostolic writers, the grace and the splendour of the old order; he dwells with reverent memory on the significance of the ritual which he had known; and then he shows how to the Christian every symbol had become a truth, every shadow a reality, every imaged hope a fact in a perfect human life; he shows how the sacrifice of Christ was efficacious for ever, "one act at once;" how the humanity of Christ was a new and living way to the Father; how on the divine throne placed above the opened heavens, was seated One who was Priest *according to the power of an indissoluble life*.

In doing this he carries forward the line of revelation which we have already considered. The work of Christ on earth was the preparation for His work in heaven.

He who fulfilled the destiny of man, under the conditions of the present world; He who interpreted the discipline of suffering; He who bore humanity through death to the presence of God—not as one man of men, but as the Head of the whole race; did all this *that He might be a merciful and faithful High Priest*, and that He might apply to those whom He was *not ashamed to call brethren*, the virtue of His Life and Passion, and reconcile in a final harmony the inexorable claims of law, and the infinite yearnings of love, a Priest and yet a King.

For indeed at first and at last the kingly and princely

offices cannot be kept apart. He who makes atonement must direct action. He who demands the complete service of every power must hallow the powers of which He claims the ministry. The ruler who consecrates, the priest who rules, must, in the words already quoted, be *merciful and faithful*; He must have absolute authority and perfect sympathy; authority that He may represent God to man, sympathy that He may represent man to God. And such is Christ made known to us, King and Priest, *Priest after the order of Melchisedek*, in whose mysterious person the old world on the edge of a new dispensation met and blessed the father of the faithful. Therefore the writer of the Epistle once again is able to appeal to the human conscience to justify the Gospel. Therefore he can say, when he has shown what Christ is, *able to save to the uttermost with royal power, ever living to make intercession with priestly compassion; such a High Priest became us*—we with our poor faculties can see how He answers to our wants—*holy in Himself, guileless among men, undefiled in a corrupt world, separated from sinners in the conflict of this visible order, and made higher than the heavens . . . a Son perfected for evermore.*

Yes, the apostolic words are true for us, true while there is one sin to vex the overburdened conscience, one struggle to strain the feeble will, *such a High Priest became us*. And it is well for us to turn again and again with reverent devotion to Him as we know, and that we may know better, our faults and our weakness.

We need not dwell long upon His authority. Son of God in His own essential nature, He vindicated His Sonship among men. He brought humanity at each stage of His advancing life into perfect fellowship with God, offering a perfect service as well as a perfect sacrifice, and then at last—most marvellous paradox—He offered Himself in death upon the cross, and living through death, His earthly

work ended, He entered on the glory of His eternal priesthood, and *sat down on the right hand of God*.

That single phrase "*sat down on the right hand of God*," on which the writer of the Epistle dwells with solemn emphasis, marks the unique dignity of the ascended Christ. Priests stand in their ministry; angels stand or fall prostrate before the Divine Majesty; but the Son shares the Father's throne. As Priest, as Intercessor, He reigns still, reigns in His glorified manhood.

There is our reassurance. Our Priest is King, and our King is Priest. *The Son of God* is also *Jesus*, the Son of man. His tender compassion is infinite even as His authority. We know now that what Ezekiel saw in a vision has become for us a fact. We see by faith upon the sapphire throne not the shadowy likeness of a man, but One who is true man; One who was *made in all things like unto His brethren*; One who was *tempted in all things after our likeness*; One who has known the bitterness of every human trial, and who knows the secret of their use; One whose sympathy goes out to every suffering creature as if he were alone the object of His regard; One whose love kindles to responsive warmth the faintest spark of faith.

We can feel then how the Hebrews through their apparent loss were brought to an immeasurable gain, and how we may learn a little better through their example what our King-Priest is for us.

If human priests compassed with infirmity could inspire confidence in the worshipper, then Christ, if we will lift our eyes to Him, a thousandfold more. Their compassion was necessarily limited by their experience, but His experience covers the whole field of life; their gentle bearing was tempered by the consciousness of personal failure, but His breathes the invigorating spirit of perfect holiness. They knew the power of temptation in part by the sad lessons of failure; He knew it to the uttermost by perfect victory.

They could see dimly through earth-born mists something of the real hideousness of evil; He saw it in the undimmed light of the Divine purity. And He is tenderest, not who has sinned, as is sometimes vainly thought, but who has known best the power of sin by overcoming it. His love is most watchful who has seen what wrong is in the eyes of God.

Can we not then boldly proclaim that here also the Gospel covers the facts of life, of our life? that in the prospect of the conflicts and defeats which sadden us, and which we dare not disguise or extenuate, *such a High Priest became us*, strong with the strength of God, compassionate with the affection of a friend?

We must cling to both these truths, and wrestle with them, and win their blessing from them. We need the revelation of Christ's Majesty, and we need the revelation of Christ's Tenderness. We need more, I think, than we know, to come each one of us into the presence of the glorified Lord and rest in His light.

In this individual approach to the throne of grace lies for us severally the promise of the fulfilment of our destiny; But "earth's children cling to earth," and there are many among us who feel keenly the very trials which the Hebrews felt; who long for some visible system which shall "bring all heaven before their eyes," for some path to the divine presence along which they can walk by sight, for recurrent words of personal absolution from some human minister, for that which shall localise their centre of worship; who labour, often unconsciously, to make the earthly the measure of the spiritual; who shrink from the ennobling responsibility of striving with untiring effort to hold communion with the unseen and eternal; who turn back with regretful looks to the discipline and the helps of a childly age, when they are required to accept the graver duties of maturity; required to listen, as it were, like Elijah on

the lonely mountain, when the thunder of the earthquake is stilled and the violence of the fire is spent, for the still small voice.

These are not, I know, imaginary temptations; but if we are tried and disquieted by their assaults, the writer of the Epistle enables us to face them. He brings Christ near to us and he bring us near to Christ. He discloses the privileges to which we are all admitted by the ascended Saviour. He gives an abiding application to the Lord's words, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*. And he does this without hiding one dark trait in the prospect of life. The connexion in which the text stands gives it a startling force. The apostolic author has recalled without reserve, the sad history of Israel's failure. He has painted a vivid picture of the penetrating severity of the Divine judgment, and then, drawing an unexpected conclusion from this revelation of unbelief and weakness and retribution, he continues: *Having therefore a great High Priest who hath passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our confession. For we have not a High Priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore draw near with boldness unto the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy and may find grace to help in time of need.*

Every word must go to the heart of those who have known what life is, an inexorable order capable of being transfigured by love. Every word has a practical force. Never was the charge to hold fast our confession more urgently needed. Never was the encouragement to come directly to Christ more fitted to still the griefs of failure, and to nerve the misgivings of weakness. Never was the twofold necessity of rising out of themselves without losing themselves more impressingly forced upon men by the contrast between their ideal and their attainment, their

destiny and their position; never was the Spirit more openly claiming acceptance for growing Truth.

As then we have known a little of the power of our Faith; as we have felt the want of forgiveness and the want of support; as we have learnt a little more clearly with advancing years the grievousness of sin and the perils of life, *let us, each in our place, hold fast our confession.*

Let us draw near with boldness to the throne of grace—giving utterance to every feeling and every wish—that we may receive mercy—receive it as humble suppliants from the Lord's free love—and may find—find as unwearied searchers—grace to help in time of need.

That access is ever open to the foot of faith. That mercy is unfailing to the cry of penitence. That grace is inexhaustible to the servant who offers himself wholly to the Master's use.

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT.

THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE FIRST BOOK OF SAMUEL.

THE Books of Samuel present serious difficulties to the translator, and it is scarcely possible to study them without coming to the conclusion that in a large number of cases these difficulties arise from the corrupt state of the Massoretic text. The examination of the parallel passages in the Books of Chronicles and the Psalter confirm this conclusion; and when we turn to the Septuagint, we find that a multitude of its renderings can hardly be explained except on the hypothesis that the translators had before them a Hebrew text differing very considerably from the Massoretic text. The oldest form of the LXX. is found in the Vatican MS. known as B: the Alexandrine

MS. known as A has been extensively revised to bring it into agreement with the Massoretic text; the Sinaitic MS. unfortunately does not contain the Books of Samuel.

That the LXX. frequently misunderstood the Hebrew, and that numerous glosses, duplicate renderings, and corruptions have made their way into the text, is clear enough; but it is equally clear that this version, and in a less degree the other ancient versions, represent readings which solve difficulties in the Hebrew text, and have every appearance of being the true readings. To decide between the rival readings is often a matter of extreme delicacy and difficulty; in the absence of a variety of ancient evidence the subjective judgment of the critic comes largely into play, and conclusions will necessarily differ.

The Revisers have adopted a cautious course of action. They have placed a considerable number of various readings from the LXX. and other ancient versions in the margin, and they have occasionally, though rarely, introduced them into the text. They have recognised an important principle by so doing; but it is questionable whether they have been quite so bold as could be wished. Some of the readings given in the margin are very distinctly superior to those of the text; and there are not a few other readings which appear to have at least an equal claim to be admitted to the margin with those which are to be found there. Still, the Revisers have recognised the imperfection of the Massoretic text, and warned the reader that in cases where there is a doubt as to the true reading, the passage must not be used in argument without further investigation, such as is required where there is a doubt as to the true rendering; and moreover, that some of the apparent difficulties and discrepancies in the Received Text are not due to the sacred writers themselves, but to the accidental blunders or mistaken zeal of copyists.

The First Book of Samuel. It will be noted that the alternative title *The First Book of the Kings*, derived from the Vulgate (*Liber primus Regum*), has been dropped. It was at one time the more familiar name, and in Coverdale's version the title runs: "*The first boke of the kynges, otherwyse called the first boke of Samuel.*"

1. *Ephraimite* for *Ephrathite*. The same Hebrew word אֶפְרַיִם denotes both *Ephraimite* (Jud. xii. 5; 1 Kings xi. 26) and *Ephrathite*, i.e. native of Ephrath or Beth-lehem (Ruth i. 2; 1 Sam. xvii. 12); but it is convenient to observe the distinction in translation.

5. *A double portion.* This rendering gives an excellent sense. Elkanah marked his love for his childless wife in the same way as Joseph showed his affection for Benjamin (Gen. xliii. 34). It is found in the Syriac version and adopted by Gesenius, Keil, etc. But it is very doubtful whether כְּנָה אֶחָת אֶפְיִם can be so rendered. The expression *a portion, one of two persons, for a double portion*, is very strange; and the sense of *two persons* for אֶפְיִם is unsupported. Other renderings which have been proposed are still more objectionable. *A worthy portion* of the A.V. comes through the Jewish commentators from the Targum, which renders *one choice portion*. But this explanation rests on no philological basis. The Vulgate has *tristis*; and so Coverdale, *unto Anna he gave one deale hevvely*; but again this sense of אֶפְיִם (lit. *in sorrow*) is unsupported by satisfactory analogy. The Revisers have consequently placed the reading of the LXX. in the margin. The words "because she had no child," may be merely an explanatory gloss; but *howbeit* (πλῆν) points to a reading אֶפֶס for אֶפְיִם, which would get rid of the grammatical and lexical difficulty. The clause "howbeit Elkanah loved Hannah," was intended to make it clear that although he gave her only a single portion, it was not from any want of love.

6. *Rival.* See Prof. Driver's note on Lev. xviii. 18,

where צָרָה is shown to have been a technical term for a *rival* or *fellow-wife*.

9. For, *and after they had drunk*, the Sept. reads, *and presented herself before the Lord*. This reading, which is approved by Thenius, Wellhausen and others, at least deserved a place in the margin, as giving a connexion with the following verses.

15. From the analogy of similar phrases, e.g. קָשָׁה לֵב Ezek. iii. 7, קָשֶׁת רִיחַ, should mean *obstinate not sorrowful*, and the reading attested by the LXX., קָשֶׁת יוֹם, *whose lot (lit. day) is hard* (cf. Job xxx. 25), has strong claims to consideration, and should have been placed in the margin.

16. *Provocation*, for *grief*; assimilation to v. 6, where *provoked her sore*, is literally *provoked her with provocation*.

24. The reading of LXX. and Syr., *a bullock of three years old* (cf. Gen. xv. 9), involves a very slight change in the Hebrew text, פְּרִים שְׁלֹשָׁה for פֶּר מִשְׁלֹשׁ; and appears to be required by the reference to "the bullock," in v. 25, where the A.V. wrongly gives "a bullock." The argument in defence of the Hebrew text, that an ephah of flour implies three animals, as three-tenths of an ephah was the prescribed meal-offering for each bullock (Num. xv. 9), does not go far, as meal-offerings were offered separately (Lev. ii.). Still the def. article may denote "the one which they had brought for the purpose," and the marg. reading cannot be said to be certain.

28. *Granted*, for *lent*. Neither here, nor in Ex. xii. 36, the only other passage in which the Hiphil of שָׁאֵל occurs, does it necessarily mean *lend*. Hannah does not surrender Samuel with any intention of reclaiming him.

ii. 3. *And by him*, Heb. וְיָלֵ, is the K'ri, or traditionally authorised reading. It is distinctly preferable to the C'thib וְלֹא, *and not*, which is rendered in the margin, *though actions be not weighed*, i.e. though men do not reflect what they are doing in their arrogance.

14. *Therewith.* So the Heb. text. The margin and A.V. follow the reading of the LXX., Vulg., Syr., and Targ., which seems preferable.

22. *The women that did service at the door of the tent of meeting.* The same expression is found in Ex. xxxviii. 8. The verb צָבָא, which is used of military service, is also used of the service of the Levites in Num. iv. 23; viii. 24. Here and in Exod., *l. c.*, there appears to be a reference to the regular employment of women in the service of the Tabernacle; probably in washing and needlework, and similar feminine occupations, not, as some have supposed, in spiritual services of fasting and prayer.

25. *God, for the judge.* It is a disputed point whether *Elohim* can mean *judges*. It certainly cannot mean *judges* absolutely, but only in respect of their office as the representatives of God, pronouncing the judgment which proceeds from Him. Cf. Ex. xxi. 6; xxii. 8, 9; Deut. i. 17. Whichever rendering be adopted, the sense of the passage, which as Ewald (*Hist.*, ii. 412) suggests, may be an ancient proverb, remains the same. When man offends against man, there is a third superior authority, namely God, who can intervene, either by Himself or by His authorised representatives, to arbitrate between the parties: but when Jehovah is the offended party, there is no one with authority to mediate. The rendering *judge* is however liable to obscure the ancient conception of judicial decisions as proceeding from God.

28. *To go up unto mine altar*, i.e. to officiate thereat; taking לַעֲלוֹת as infin. Kal. So LXX., Vulg., Syr. Cf. Ex. xx. 26. But it may also be taken as a syncopated infin. Hiphil for לְהַעֲלוֹת, and rendered as in the marg. and in A. V. There is a similar ambiguity in 1 Kings xii. 32, 33.

iii. 3. The R. V. follows the order of the Heb. The A. V. transposes *and Samuel was laid down to sleep*, to

the end of the verse, apparently to avoid the possible inference that Samuel was sleeping in the actual sanctuary. But **הֵיכַל**, *temple*, included the buildings which had been raised round the Tabernacle (i. 9), in one of the chambers of which Samuel was sleeping. The Genevan translators were more faithful to the text. "And yer the light of God went out, Samuel slept in the Temple of the Lord, where the Arke of God was."

11. *I will do.* Lit. *I am doing.* It is a pity that the Revisers did not express this idiomatic use of the present participle to denote the certainty of an event, which though still future to the eyes of men, is already begun in the Divine purpose. Cf. Gen. vi. 17; and see Prof. Driver's *Tenses*, § 135, 3.

iv. 1. It is certainly right, with Vulg. and Syr., to treat the clause, *And the word of Samuel came to all Israel*, as the conclusion of the preceding section, and not as the introduction to what follows. The sense of the words is, that Samuel communicated to all the people the revelation which he had himself received; and not, as their position in the Heb. text at the head of chap. iv. implies, that Samuel summoned the people to commence the war which ended so disastrously, and in connexion with which his name is nowhere mentioned.

Now Israel went out. Before these words the LXX. and Vulg. insert a clause which certainly deserved a place in the margin. It not only relieves the abruptness of this beginning, but explains the word *against*, lit. *to meet* (**לְקִרְאָתוֹ**), which implies that the Philistines were the aggressors. It runs: "And it came to pass in those days, that the Philistines gathered together to fight against Israel."

8. *Plagues.* The marginal *smiting* should be noticed. It is the same word as that translated *slaughter* in v. 10. The reference is not to the plagues, but to the overthrow of Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea, the shores of which

are called *wilderness* in Ex. xiv. 3. The consternation produced among the *Philistines* by this disaster is referred to in Ex. xv. 14; and Rahab speaks of it as inspiring the Canaanites with terror (Josh. ii. 9 ff.).

13. *By the way side watching.* The Massoretic text can hardly be sound. דרך, *way*, requires the article; and *the way* would naturally mean the road leading into the city. But it is evident from what follows that the messenger did not pass Eli as he entered the city, but came to him after he had told his tidings there. The reading of the LXX. given in the margin is certainly more probable. Eli was sitting on his seat beside the gate of the outer court of the Tabernacle (i. 9; cf. v. 18 of this chapter), with some attendant beside him, watching the road by which the messenger would arrive.

v. 6; vi. 1. The additions in the LXX. state what the Heb. text does not mention until vi. 5, 6. They may be merely an inference from vi. 5, 6, but there are many other indications that the translators had a text before them in these chapters differing very considerably from the Massoretic text.

vi. 6. *When he had wrought wonderfully.* There seems to be no sufficient ground for departing here and in Ex. x. 2 from the usual sense of הִתְעַלֵּל, which is that given in the margin. See Num. xxii. 29; 1 Sam. xxxi. 4; Jer. xxxviii. 19. So LXX. ἐπέπαιξεν. The expression finds a parallel in Ps. ii. 4.

vi. 18. *Even unto the great stone.* The Heb. text is certainly corrupt, and אבן must be read with the LXX. and Targum for אבל. But this is not the only corruption. What is the meaning of *even unto the great stone?* and what construction of the clause is possible? To supply *which stone remaineth* is at least as violent an expedient as to emend by reading (1) וְעַד, or (2) וְעַד, or (3) omitting וְעַד altogether; and rendering (1) *and the great stone is a*

witness . . . , or (2) *and still the great stone remaineth*, or (3) *and the great stone remaineth*, etc.

19. Much has been written about this verse; and the structure of it, as well as the curious variation of the LXX., make it all but certain that the text is corrupt. It seems incredible that 50,070 men should have perished in a country village; and the unexampled collocation *seventy men, fifty thousand men*, without any copula, indicates that the larger number is a gloss which has made its way into the text. Possibly the number was originally expressed by a letter used as a numerical sign, and explained once rightly and once wrongly in marginal notes, both of which were eventually incorporated in the text. The Revisers might surely have gone so far as to place the words *fifty thousand men* in brackets. None of the attempts to explain the number are satisfactory.

viii. 3. *Lucre*. Why should not בַּצֵּעַ be rendered *unjust gain*, as in the description of the qualifications of a judge in Ex. xviii. 21?

ix. 5. *Take thought*, i.e. be anxious. This archaism retained here and introduced in x. 2, is not in this case actually misleading, as it was in Matt. vi. 25; but it hardly conveys to the ordinary reader the full sense of דָּאָג .

8, 16. The readings of the LXX. in v. 8, "that shalt thou give," for "that will I give," and in v. 16, "I have looked upon *the afflictions of my people*" (cf. Ex. iii. 7), deserved mention in the margin.

x. 27. *But he held his peace*. The objection to this rendering is that it does not explain the כ prefixed to מִחְרֵשׁ . Why should it be said "he was *as* one holding his peace"? The objection to the marginal rendering is that the Hiphil of שָׁרַשׁ nowhere means *to be deaf*, though this sense may be supported by the use of the Kal in Micah vii. 16. Thenius' criticism moreover is sound, that in place of וַיְהִי we should expect to find the subject expressed, to mark the contrast

between Saul and his detractors. The reading of the LXX., found also in the ordinary text of the Vulgate in combination with that of the Massoretic text, has strong claims to consideration. It gets rid of the difficulties, and forms a suitable introduction to the next chapter, which otherwise opens very abruptly. The change required in the consonants is extremely slight, וַיְהִי כַמְּחֹרֶשׁ for וַיְהִי כַמְּחֹרֶשׁ, and for the form of expression Gen. xxxviii. 24 may be compared.

xii. 3. The various reading of the LXX. given in the margin is of remarkable interest on this ground if on no other, that it is at least as old as the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus, which was made not later than 130 B.C. In ch. xlvi. 19 we read, "And before his long sleep [Samuel] made protestations in the sight of the Lord and His anointed, I have not taken any man's goods, so much as a shoe (*χρήματα καὶ ἕως ὑποδημάτων*): and no man did accuse him." But the complete incorporation of the sense in the text makes it exceedingly probable that the reading existed in the Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus, for it is not the kind of quotation which a translator might be tempted to alter to agree with the version with which he was familiar; and if so, the reading existed in the Hebrew text of Samuel which the author of Ecclesiasticus used. It is easy to see how וְנַעֲלִים עִנִּי בִי might be corrupted into וְנַעֲלִים עִנִּי בִי. As regards the intrinsic merits of the reading, though וְנַעֲלִים, *even a pair of shoes*, comes in somewhat awkwardly, עִנִּי בִי, *answer against me*, is a great improvement before וְנַעֲלִים. *A pair of shoes* was a proverbial expression for a mere trifle. Cf. Amos ii. 6; viii. 6.

xiii. 1. This verse is one of the clearest cases of the imperfection of the Massoretic text. The words are the formula commonly used to denote the age of a king at his accession, and the length of his reign.¹ They cannot be

¹ Cf. 2 Sam. ii. 10; v. 4, and frequently in the Books of Kings.

rendered as in the A.V. They are entirely omitted by the original LXX. (Cod. B); and the most probable account of them is that they were introduced by a scribe who thought it a convenient point for inserting the usual notice of a king's age and the length of his reign. But he left the numerals blank; *thirty*, which is found in a later recension of the LXX., is not improbable, for Saul was in the prime of life when he was made king; but most likely it rests on conjecture only. *Two*, however, cannot possibly be right. The events of Saul's reign must have occupied more than two years, and the deterioration of his character presumes a much longer period. Nor can *two years* be explained of the time which had now passed since his accession. Apart from the regular meaning of the formula, Jonathan appears as a stalwart warrior, and if Saul was thirty at his accession, much more than two years, at least ten or fifteen years, must have passed before the events recorded in this chapter took place. Though *two* stands in the Hebrew text, the Revisers ought certainly to have placed it in brackets.¹

xiii. 21. *Yet they had a file for the mattocks, etc.* A most difficult passage. הַפְּצִירָה פִּים is rendered by the Targum, which the Jewish commentators Kimchi and Rashi follow, by שׁוּפִינָא, *a file*, lit. *edge-sharpener*; and Aquila's barbarous rendering, ἡ προσβόλωσις στόματα (*προσβολή* = *point or edge*), represents the same meaning. In this case the meaning will be that while for forge-work (לְלִטּוֹשׁ, v. 20 = *to sharpen by forging*) the Israelites had to go down to the Philistines, they had files for ordinary use. But the root corresponding to פֶּצַר appears in Arabic to bear the mean-

It is generally supposed that the numerals have fallen out, and that וּשְׁתִּי is the remains of the second, so that the original reading was perhaps "twenty and two" or "thirty and two"; but Wellhausen conjectures with much probability that both numerals were originally left blank, and that וּשְׁתִּי is only a corruption of the initial letters of שְׁנַיִם, first accidentally repeated as שְׁנִי and then changed for the sake of grammar to וּשְׁתִּי.

ing to *notch* or *blunt an edge*; and the rendering of the margin is very probably right. This sense was adopted by Jerome, though he construed the sentence differently: *retusæ itaque erant acies vomerum.* And to set the goads depends on *went down*.

xiv. 18, 19. The Ark was sometimes carried out to the field of battle; and it is hardly fair to say that the historian must have mentioned its transportation from Kiriath Jearim to Saul's camp, if it was really there. But it is clear from the context that Saul wished to consult the oracle whether he should order an attack or not. And the Ephod which contained the Urim and Thummim, not the Ark, was the proper instrument for ascertaining the Divine will: and *bring hither* is a term used of the Ephod, but not of the Ark. See chaps. xxiii. 9; xxx. 7. Moreover, *withdraw thine hand*, i.e. desist, would be quite inappropriate if he was ordering Ahijah to get ready the Ark to be carried out to battle. It seems certain that we should follow the LXX., and read, as in the margin, *ephod for ark of God*: and *he wore the ephod at that time before Israel, for the ark of God was there at that time with the children of Israel*. In any case *בבני* must be corrupt, for it means *and*, not *with the children*, and cannot be translated. A reminiscence of the true reading is perhaps preserved in the Targum of v. 19, which substitutes *קריב אפודה*, *bring near the ephod*, for *withdraw thine hand*.

51. The true reading of this verse is important, as determining the relationship of Saul to Abner. *Saul's uncle* in v. 50 may refer either to Abner or to Ner, but more probably to the latter. Josephus expressly states that Kish and Ner were brothers, and sons of Abiel, and so attests the reading *בְּנֵי אֲבִיָּאל* for *בְּנֵי אֵל*. Saul accordingly was Abner's first cousin, which agrees with the general impression produced by the history, that they were about of the same age. It is true that the genealogies

in 1 Chron. viii. 33; ix. 39, make Ner the father of Kish, and consequently Abner Saul's uncle; but Ner is not mentioned among Saul's ancestors in 1 Sam. ix. 1; and as in 1 Chron. ix. 36, Kish and Ner appear as brothers, Bertheau proposes to read in the other passages *Ner begat Abner*, instead of *Ner begat Kish*.

xv. 12. *Monument for place*. The Hebrew word יָד , lit. *hand*, is applied in 2 Sam. xviii. 18 to Absalom's pillar, and similarly used in Isa. lvi. 5 for *a memorial*; as it were an outstretched hand to arrest attention. Here some kind of a trophy or memorial of the victory is meant. Vulg. *fornicem triumphalem*; and according to Jerome it was an arch of myrtle palms and olives. Coverdale rightly: *had set him up a pillar*; the A. V. *place* is the rendering of Münster and Pagninus, and comes originally from the Targum, which has *a place to divide the spoil*.

xvii. 2. The slight change of *vale* for *valley* should be noticed. קִיָּץ denotes the broad open vale;¹ סִיָּץ , *valley*, denotes the depressed bed of the stream in the middle of the vale. The opposing armies were encamped on *the mountain*, i.e. the slopes on either side of the vale.

6. *Javelin*. The A. V. *target* follows the LXX. and Vulg., and A. V. marg. *gorget* is derived from Kimchi; but it is clear from Josh. viii. 18, 26 that some kind of a spear is meant by קִיָּץ .

12. The Revisers have justly noted in the margin that vv. 12-31 and 55—chap. xviii. 5 are omitted in the LXX. They are absent from B and some other MSS.;² though they are contained in A it is clear that at least vv. 12-31 were absent from some ancestor of the MS., for v. 12 begins with *καὶ εἶπεν*, the opening words of v. 32, which the scribe was actually beginning to copy, when he stopped to incorporate the missing section. The Greek version moreover differs in character from the LXX., and

¹ Compare our *Vale of White Horse* and the like. ² See Field's *Hexapla*.

is assigned by Dr. Field to Theodotion.¹ The result of these omissions is a straightforward and consistent narrative. David, who had become Saul's armour-bearer (xvi. 21), accompanied him to battle; and when Goliath defied Israel, David resolved to encounter him. Observe how naturally *v.* 32 follows upon *v.* 11, and xviii. 6 upon xvii. 54.

The Hebrew text, on the other hand, presents, as is well known, the most serious difficulties. How came David, if he was Saul's armour-bearer, to be absent from his side in the campaign? how was it that he was wholly unaccustomed to the use of weapons? how could he be unknown to the king and to Abner? Various explanations of these and other difficulties have been proposed by the defenders of the integrity of the Massoretic text; but they cannot be regarded as really satisfactory. Apart from the evidence of the LXX. the Hebrew text shows evident signs of having been pieced together at *v.* 12 ff.; and the most natural conclusion and the most reasonable solution of the difficulties is to suppose that the original form of the narrative has been preserved in the LXX., while the Hebrew text has been interpolated from some other source either documentary or oral. These additions, taken perhaps from some popular story of David's life, certainly do not harmonise with the rest of the narrative in their present position. Possibly if we had the whole story before us, we might see that the difficulties only arise from the displacement of the different events from their proper order; as it is, the difficulties must be candidly acknowledged.

52. *Gai*, for *the valley*. Heb. גַּי as in *v.* 3, but without the definite article. It seems most probable that *Gai* is a copyist's error for *Gath*.

¹ Note for example ἀνὴρ ὁ μεσσαῖος, *v.* 23, for δυνατός, *v.* 4; φυλιστιαῖος for ἀλλόφυλος, *ib.*; ἐστηλώθη, *v.* 16.

xviii. 8. It is not easy to see why the Revisers did not notice the further omissions of the LXX. in this chapter. They are as follows. From, *and what can he have more*, v. 8, to the end of v. 11, vv. 17-19, 21 b, 29 b, 30. The narrative gains very distinctly by these omissions. Saul was wroth at David's popularity, v. 8; and was afraid of him, v. 12, and removed him from his presence. When he saw his power increasing he stood in awe of him, and schemed how he might get rid of him indirectly. Failing in this, he was yet more afraid of David, v. 29, and at last, throwing off all disguise, openly expressed his wish for David's death, xix. 1. Three stages in the development of Saul's enmity are clearly marked; and while it cannot be pronounced impossible that Saul should have threatened David's life in a fit of madness the very day after their triumphal return, the narrative as given by the LXX. has the advantage of naturalness.

28. For, *Michal Saul's daughter*, the LXX., has *that all Israel*, a reading which certainly deserved a place in the margin, for it supplies the motive of Saul's increasing fear of David mentioned in v. 29.

xix. 22. The absence of the article with בֹּר is suspicious, and points towards the reading בֹּר הַהָרִים preserved by the LXX. *Secu* is unknown, and the reading of the LXX. is ἐν τῷ Σεφί, i.e. בְּשֵׁפִי, in *Shephi*, or on the hill.

xx. 19, 41. For אֶצֶל הָאֲבֵן הָאֵזֶל, by *the stone Ezel*, the Sept. reads παρὰ τὸ Ἐργάβ ἐκείνο; and for מֵאֶצֶל הַנֶּגֶב, *out of a place toward the south*, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀργάβ. In both cases the reading of the LXX. preserves the original word אֶרֶב, which the translators failed to understand. It survives only in the name *Argob*, but means *a mound or cairn of stones*. The mention of the place previously agreed upon is required in v. 41, and מֵאֶצֶל, *from beside*, could hardly be joined with הַנֶּגֶב which denotes a quarter of the compass, or a district.

xxii. 6. *Saul was sitting, etc.* A vivid picture of the king sitting in state under the well-known ancient tree, with his spear, the emblem of royalty, in his hand, and his retainers standing round him.

9. *Stood by, for was set over.* This rendering seems to be required by the use of the phrase in *vv.* 6, 7, and elsewhere in Samuel. The rendering in the margin and A. V. is that of Vulg., Targ., Syr. The Sept. has, "who was set over Saul's mules." Cf. xxi. 7.

xxv. 6. *To him that liveth in prosperity.* In default of any certain explanation of the obscure לְחַיִּים the A. V. has been retained in the text. It seems, however, hardly justifiable to read *in prosperity* into the simple word *to the living one*; and the marginal explanation, which regards לחי as a form of greeting, *All hail!* lit. *for life!* is preferable to this. But it is very questionable whether חי can be thus used in the singular. The rendering of the LXX. is εἰς ὥπας, i. e. *for the coming season!* a new year's greeting, apparently interpreting the word by כַּעַת חַיִּים which is rendered εἰς ὥπας in Gen. xviii. 14; but this cannot stand as an explanation of the word. The Vulg. has *fratribus meis*, regarding the word as a contraction for לְאַחֵי. This can hardly be right, but it points to Wellhausen's conjecture that we should read לְחַיִּים as a contraction for לְאַחֵי, *to my brother*. This is perhaps the best solution. David's brotherly greeting is intentionally contrasted with Nabal's surly rejoinder.

22. *The enemies of David.* We should expect *David*, and this, as is noted in the margin, is the reading of the LXX. Kimchi says that *the enemies of David* is a euphemism (כְּנִי) for *David*, and it is possible that the scribes substituted it in the text in view of the non-fulfilment of the oath. Cf. xx. 16.

xxvii. 8. *Girzites.* So the C'thib. It has been conjectured that the tribe here mentioned at one time wandered

northwards, and gave its name to Mount Gerizim, as their neighbours the Amalekites left traces of their migration in the name "hill country of the Amalekites" in the territory of Ephraim (Jud. xii. 15). The A.V. *Gezrites* follows the K'ri, but Gezer was far distant from the locality of David's operations.

The Revisers have placed in the margin the reading of some MSS. of the LXX., *from Telam*, because (1) it is not easy to see why *of old* should be inserted, unless the words are an addition made long after the time of David; and (2) *even unto the land of Egypt* implies that some terminus *ex quo* has preceded. Telam, perhaps the same as Telaim (xv. 4), was on the southern border of Judah (Josh. xv. 24).

xxviii. 13. *A god for gods.* A.V. follows LXX., Vulg., Syr., in rendering *gods*; but Targ. has *the angel of the Lord*, and it is clear from v. 14 that only a single figure appeared. *Elohim* here signifies *a supernatural, non-earthly, being*.

16. *And is become thine adversary.* The true reading of this passage is a matter of importance from a theological point of view. If the Massoretic text is sound, it must apparently be translated thus. But the word rendered *thine adversary* is עֲרֵב, and עֲר = עָר is not a pure Hebrew but an Aramaic word, occurring in the O. T. only in Ps. cxxxix. 20,¹ a psalm full of Aramaisms, and Dan. iv. 16 (Aram. E.V. 19). And when we turn to the ancient versions, still more suspicion is cast on the reading. The LXX. and Syr. read "is on the side of thy neighbour," *i.e.* לְרַעְיָךְ or עַם רַעְיָךְ; the Targum paraphrases, *and has become the help of a man who is thine enemy*; similarly the Vulg.: *transierit ad æmulum tuum, has passed over to thy rival*. Aquila and Theodotion have *κατὰ σου = עֲלֵי, against thee*; Symmachus alone renders *ἀντίζηλός σου* (the word which he uses in Ps. cxxxix.), *thine adversary*. It seems on the whole best

¹ Even there Hupfeld and others question the correctness of the reading.

to follow the reading of the LXX.; and this accords excellently with the natural rendering of the first clause of v. 17, *and the Lord hath done unto him.*

xxx. 2. *And all*, supplied from the LXX., is clearly necessary.

20. It is hard to see what sense this verse makes as it stands, and the reading of the Vulg., with which that of the LXX. in the main agrees, might have been given in the margin: "And he took all the flocks and the herds, and drove them before him; and they said, This is David's spoil." David not only recovered his own property, but took a rich booty besides.

xxxi. 9. *The house of their idols* should surely be *the houses of their idols*. See Ewald's *Gr.*, § 270. But LXX. and 1 Chron. omit בית, *the house of*.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

XIV.

THE CROSS THE DEATH OF LAW AND THE TRIUMPH OVER EVIL POWERS.

"Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to His cross; and having spoiled principalities and powers, He made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it."—COL. ii. 14, 15.

THE same double reference to the two characteristic errors of the Colossians which we have already met so frequently, presents itself here. This whole section vibrates continually between warnings against the Judaising enforcement of the Mosaic law on Gentile Christians, and against the Oriental figments about a crowd of angelic beings filling the space betwixt man and God, betwixt pure spirit

and gross matter. One great fact is here opposed to these strangely associated errors. The cross of Christ is the abrogation of the Law; the cross of Christ is the victory over principalities and powers. If we hold fast by it, we are under no subjection to the former, and have neither to fear nor reverence the latter.

I. *The Cross of Christ is the death of Law.*

The law is a written document. It has an antagonistic aspect to us all, Gentiles as well as Jews. Christ has blotted it out. More than that, He has taken it out of the way, as if it were an obstacle lying right in the middle of our path. More than that, it is "nailed to the cross." That phrase has been explained by an alleged custom of repealing laws and cancelling bonds by driving a nail into them, and fixing them up in public, but proof of the practice is said to be wanting. The thought seems to be deeper than that. This antagonistic "law" is conceived of as being, like "the world," crucified in the crucifixion of our Lord. The nails which fastened Him to the cross fastened it, and in His death it was done to death. We are free from it, "that being dead in which we were held."

We have first, then, to consider the "handwriting," or, as some would render the word, "the bond." Of course, by law here is primarily meant the Mosaic ceremonial law, which was being pressed upon the Colossians. It is so completely dead for us, that we have difficulty in realising what a fight for life and death raged round the question of its observance by the primitive Church. It is always harder to change customs than creeds, and religious observances live on, as every maypole on a village green tells us, long after the beliefs which animated them are forgotten. So there was a strong body among the early believers to whom it was flat blasphemy to speak of allowing the Gentile Christians to come into the Church,

but through the old doorway of circumcision, and to whom the outward ceremonial of Judaism was the only visible religion. That is the point directly at issue between Paul and these teachers.

But the modern distinction between moral and ceremonial law had no existence in Paul's mind, any more than it has in the Old Testament, where precepts of the highest morality and regulations of the merest ceremonial are interstratified in a way most surprising to us moderns. To him the law was a homogeneous whole, however diverse its commands, because it was all the revelation of the will of God for the guidance of man. It is the law as a whole, in all its aspects and parts, that is here spoken of, whether as enjoining morality, or external observances, or as an accuser fastening guilt on the conscience, or as a stern prophet of retribution and punishment.

Further, we must give a still wider extension to the thought. The principles laid down are true not only in regard to "*the law*," but about all law, whether it be written on the tables of stone, or on "the fleshy tables of the heart" or conscience, or in the systems of ethics, or in the customs of society. Law, as such, howsoever enacted and whatever the bases of its rule, is dealt with by Christianity in precisely the same way as the venerable and God-given code of the Old Testament. When we recognise that fact, these discussions in Paul's Epistles flash up into startling vitality and interest. It has long since been settled that Jewish ritual is nothing to us. But it ever remains a burning question for each of us, What Christianity does for us in relation to the solemn law of duty under which we are all placed, and which we have all broken?

The antagonism of law is the next point that these words present. Twice, to add to the emphasis, Paul tells us that the law is against us. It stands opposite us fronting

us and frowning at us, and barring our road. Is "law" then become our "enemy because it tells us the truth"? Surely this conception of law is a strange contrast to and descent from the rapturous delight of psalmists and prophets in the "law of the Lord." Surely God's greatest gift to man is the knowledge of His will, and law is beneficent, a light and a guide to men, and even its strokes are merciful. Paul believed all that too. But nevertheless the antagonism is very real. As with God, so with law, if we be against Him, He cannot but be against us. We may make Him our dearest friend or our foe. "They rebelled . . . therefore He was turned to be their enemy and fought against them." The revelation of duty to which we are not inclined is ever unwelcome. Law is against us, because it comes like a taskmaster, bidding us do, but neither putting the inclination into our hearts, nor the power into our hands. And law is against us, because the revelation of unfulfilled duty is the accusation of the defaulter and a revelation to him of his guilt. And law is against us, because it comes with threatenings and foretastes of penalty and pain. Thus as standard, accuser and avenger, it is—sad perversion of its nature and function though such an attitude be—against us.

We all know that. Strange and tragic it is, but alas! it is true, that God's law presents itself before us as an enemy. Each of us has seen that apparition, severe in beauty, like the sword-bearing angel, that Balaam saw "standing in the way" between the vineyards, blocking our path when we wanted to "go frowardly in the way of our heart." Each of us knows what it is to see our sentence in the stern face. The law of the Lord should be to us "sweeter than honey and the honeycomb," but the corruption of the best is the worst, and we can make it poison. Obeyed, it is as the chariot of fire to bear us heavenward. Disobeyed, it is an iron car that goes crash-

ing on its way, crushing all who set themselves against it. To know what we ought to be and to love and try to be it, is blessedness, but to know it and to refuse to be it, is misery. In herself she "wears the Godhead's most benignant grace," but if we turn against her, Law, the eldest daughter of God, gathers frowns upon her face and her beauty becomes stern and threatening.

But the great principle here asserted is—*the destruction of law in the cross of Christ*. The cross ends the law's power of *punishment*. Paul believed that the whole burden and penalty of sin had been laid on Jesus Christ and borne by Him on His cross. In deep, mysterious, but most real identification of Himself with the whole race of man, He not only Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses, by the might of His sympathy and the reality of His manhood, but "the Lord made to meet upon Him the iniquity of us all"; and He, the Lamb of God, willingly accepted the load, and bare away our sins by bearing their penalty.

To philosophise on that teaching of Scripture is not my business here. It is my business to assert it. We can never penetrate to a full understanding of the rationale of Christ's bearing the world's sins, but that has nothing to do with the earnestness of our belief in the fact. Enough for us that in His person he willingly made experience of all the bitterness of sin; that when He agonised in the dark on the cross, and when from out of the darkness came that awful cry, so strangely compact of wistful confidence and utter isolation, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" it was something deeper than physical pain or shrinking from physical death that found utterance,—even the sin-laden consciousness of Him who in that awful hour gathered into His own breast the spear-points of a world's punishment. The cross of Christ is the endurance of the penalty of sin, and therefore is the unloosing of the grip of

the law upon us, in so far as threatening and punishment are concerned. It is not enough that we should only intellectually recognise that as a principle—it is the very heart of the Gospel, the very life of our souls. Trusting ourselves to that great sacrifice, the dread of punishment will fade from our hearts, and the thunder-clouds melt out of the sky, and the sense of guilt will not be a sting, but an occasion for lowly thankfulness, and Law will have to draw the bolts of her prison-house and let our captive souls go free.

Christ's cross is the end of law as *ceremonial*. The whole elaborate ritual of the Jew had sacrifice for its vital centre, and the prediction of the Great Sacrifice for its highest purpose. Without these principles being admitted, Paul's position is unintelligible, for he holds, as in this context, that Christ's coming puts the whole system out of date, because it fulfils it all. When the fruit has set, there is no more need for petals; or, as the Apostle himself puts it, "when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part is done away." We have the reality, and do not need the shadow. There is but one temple for the Christian soul—the "temple of His body." Local sanctity is at an end, for it was never more than an external picture of that spiritual fact which is realised in the Incarnation. Christ is the dwelling-place of Deity, the meeting-place of God and man, the place of sacrifice; and, builded on Him, we in Him become a spiritual house. There are none other temples than these. Christ is the great priest, and in His presence all human priesthood loses its consecration, for it could offer only external sacrifice, and secure a local approach to a "worldly sanctuary." He is the real Aaron, and we in Him become a royal priesthood. There are none other priests than these. Christ is the true sacrifice. His death is the real propitiation for sin, and we in Him become thank-offerings, moved by His mercies to present ourselves

living sacrifices. There are none other offerings than these. So all law as a code of ceremonial worship is done to death in the cross, and, like the temple veil, is torn in two from the top to the bottom.

Christ's cross is the end of law as *moral* rule. Nothing in Paul's writings warrants the restriction to the ceremonial law of the strong assertion in the text, and its many parallels. Of course, such words do not mean that Christian men are freed from the obligations of morality, but they do mean that we are not bound to do the "things contained in the law" because they are there. Duty is duty now because we see the pattern of conduct and character in Christ. Conscience is not our standard, nor is the Old Testament conception of the perfect ideal of manhood. We have neither to read law in the fleshy tables of the heart, nor in the tables graven by God's own finger, nor in men's parchments and prescriptions. Our law is the perfect life and death of Christ, who is at once the ideal of humanity and the reality of Deity.

The weakness of all law is that it merely commands, but has no power to get its commandments obeyed. Like a discrowned king, it posts its proclamations, but has no army at its back to execute them. But Christ puts His own power within us, and His love in our hearts; and so we pass from under the dominion of an external commandment into the liberty of an inward spirit. He is to His followers both "law and impulse." He gives not the "law of a carnal commandment, but the power of an endless life." The long schism between inclination and duty is at an end, in so far as we are under the influence of Christ's cross. The great promise is fulfilled, "I will put My law into their minds and write it in their hearts"; and so, glad obedience with the whole power of the new life, for the sake of the love of the dear Lord who has bought us by His death, supersedes the constrained sub-

mission to outward precept. A higher morality ought to characterise the partakers of the life of Christ, who have His example for their code, and His love for their motive. The tender voice that says, "If ye love Me, keep My commandments," wins us to purer and more self-sacrificing goodness than the stern accents that could only say, "Thou shalt—or else!" could ever enforce. He came "not to destroy, but to fulfil." The fulfilment was destruction in order to reconstruction in higher form. Law died with Christ on the cross in order that it might rise and reign with Him in our inmost hearts.

II. *The Cross is the triumph over all the powers of evil.*

There are considerable difficulties in the interpretation of verse 15; the main question being the meaning of the word rendered in the Authorized Version "spoiled," and in the R. V. "having put off from Himself." It is the same word as is used in iii. 9, and is there rendered "have put off"; while a cognate noun is found in verse 11 of this chapter, and is there translated "the putting off." The form here must either mean "having put off from oneself," or "having stripped (others) for oneself." The former meaning is adopted by many commentators, as well as by the R. V., and is explained to mean that Christ having assumed our humanity, was, as it were, wrapped about and invested with Satanic temptations, which He finally flung from Him for ever in His death, which was His triumph over the powers of evil. The figure seems far-fetched and obscure, and the rendering necessitates the supposition of a change in the person spoken of, which must be God in the earlier part of the period, and Christ in the latter.

But if we adopt the other meaning, which has equal warrant in the Greek form, "having stripped for Himself," we get the thought that in the cross, God has, for His greater glory, stripped principalities and powers. Taking

this meaning, we avoid the necessity of supposing with Bishop Lightfoot that there is a change of subject from God to Christ at some point in the period including verses 13 to 15,—an expedient which is made necessary by the impossibility of supposing that God “divested Himself of principalities or powers,”—or the other necessity of referring the whole period to Christ, which is also a way out of that impossibility. We thereby obtain a more satisfactory meaning than that Christ in assuming humanity was assailed by temptations from the powers of evil which were, as it were, a poisoned garment clinging to Him, and which He stripped off from Himself in His death. Farther, such a meaning as that which we adopt makes the whole verse a consistent metaphor in three stages, whereas the other introduces an utterly incongruous and irrelevant figure. What connexion has the figure of stripping off a garment with that of a conqueror in his triumphal procession? But if we read “spoiled for Himself principalities and powers,” we see the whole process before our eyes—the victor stripping his foes of arms and ornaments and dress, then parading them as his captives, and then dragging them at the wheels of his triumphal car.

The words point us into dim regions of which we know nothing more than Scripture tells us. These dreamers at Colossæ had much to say about a crowd of beings, bad and good, which linked men and matter with spirit and God. We have heard already the emphasis with which Paul has claimed for his Master the sovereign authority of Creator over all orders of being, the headship over all principality and power. He has declared, too, that from Christ's cross a magnetic influence streams out upwards as well as earthwards, binding all things together in the great reconciliation—and now he tells us that from that same cross shoot downwards darts of conquering power

which subdue and despoil reluctant foes of other realms and regions than ours, in so far as they work among men.

That there are such seems plainly enough asserted in Christ's own words. However much discredit has been brought on the thought by monastic and Puritan exaggerations, it is clearly the teaching of Scripture; and however it may be ridiculed or set aside, it can never be disproved.

But the position which Christianity takes in reference to the whole matter is to maintain that Christ has conquered the banded kingdom of evil, and that no man owes it fear or obedience, if he will only hold fast by his Lord. In the cross is the judgment of this world, and by it is the prince of this world cast out. He has taken away the power of these Powers who were so mighty amongst men. They held men captive by temptations too strong to be overcome, but He has conquered the lesser temptations of the wilderness and the sorer of the cross, and therein has made us more than conquerors. They held men captive by ignorance of God, and the cross reveals Him; by the lie that sin was a trifle, but the cross teaches us its gravity and power; by the opposite lie that sin was unforgivable, but the cross brings pardon for every transgression and cleansing for every stain. By the cross the world is a redeemed world, and, as our Lord said in words which may have suggested the figure of our text, the strong man is bound, and his house *spoiled* of all his armour wherein he trusted. The prey is taken from the mighty and men delivered from the dominion of evil. So that dark kingdom is robbed of its subjects and its rulers impoverished and restrained. The devout imagination of the monk-painter drew on the wall of the cell in his convent the conquering Christ with white banner bearing a blood-red cross, before whose glad coming the heavy doors of the prison-house

fell from their hinges, crushing beneath their weight the demon jailer, while the long file of eager captives, from Adam onwards through ages of patriarchs and psalmists and prophets hurried forward with outstretched hands to meet the Deliverer, who came bearing his own atmosphere of radiance and joy. Christ has conquered. His cross is His victory; and in that victory God has conquered. As the long files of the triumphal procession swept upwards to the temple with incense and music, before the gazing eyes of a gathered glad nation, while the conquered trooped chained behind the chariot, that all men might see their fierce eyes gleaming beneath their matted hair, and breathe more freely for the chains on their hostile wrists, so in the world-wide issues of the work of Christ, God triumphs before the universe, and enhances His glory in that He has rent the prey from the mighty and won men back to Himself.

So we learn to think of evil as conquered, and for ourselves in our own conflicts with the world, the flesh, and the devil, as well as for the whole race of man, to be of good cheer. True the victory is but slowly being realised in all its consequences, and often it seems as if no territory had been won. But the main position has been carried, and though the struggle is still obstinate, it can end only in one way. The brute dies hard, but the naked heel of our Christ has bruised his head, and though still the dragon

“Swings the scaly horror of his folded tail,”

his death will come sooner or later. The regenerating power is lodged in the heart of humanity, and the centre from which it flows is the cross. The history of the world thenceforward is but the history of its more or less rapid assimilation of that power and consequent deliverance from the bondage in which it has been held. The end can only be the entire and universal manifestation of the victory

which was won when He bowed His head and died. Christ's cross is God's throne of triumph.

Let us see that we have our own personal share in that victory. Holding to Christ, and drawing from Him by faith a share in His new life, we shall no longer be under the yoke of law, but enfranchised into the obedience of love, which is liberty. We shall no longer be slaves of evil, but sons and servants of our conquering God, who woos and wins us by showing us all His love in Christ, and by giving us His own Son on the Cross, our peace-offering. If we let Him overcome, His victory will be life, not death. He will strip us of nothing but rags, and clothe us in garments of purity; He will so breathe beauty into us that He will show us openly to the universe as examples of His transforming power, and He will bind us glad captives to His chariot wheels, partakers of His victory as well as trophies of His all-conquering love. "Now thanks be unto God, which always triumphs over us in Jesus Christ."

ALEXANDER MACLAREN.

THOUGHTS.

I. Shame on account of God's Displeasure with us.—The story told in the 12th chapter of Numbers, and especially the striking words ascribed to God in the 10th verse ("If her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days?") startle us out of the easy mind with which we accept the pardon of sin. We stand rebuked for having less shame at meriting the displeasure of the just and loving God, than at exciting the contempt or incurring the condemnation of men like ourselves. God demands that the shame we feel on account of sin shall have the same blush and burning in it that we should have, did some one on just cause show his reprobation of our conduct by spitting in our face. Shame before God must betray something of the poignancy and agitation, something of the heart-felt humiliation of our shame before men. It is not to be of a

sublimated fictitious kind. Seven days would have been all too little to ease Miriam's heart of the shock and anguish of shame had her father expressed his displeasure by spitting in her face; she would have felt that a brand well-nigh indelible had been fixed upon her. But God had more emphatically signified His displeasure and yet she is pursued by no such enduring and crushing shame. Something infinitely more expressive than a mere outward mark of disapprobation had been visible upon her; out from her very self there had grown a manifestation of her diseased nature; and yet no sooner is the outward appearance removed than she with an easy mind resumes her place and her usual ways.

What a theme for conscience. If in any minute point of conduct we have erred and injured a friend, if we have even been guilty of a mere awkwardness, we know how sensible a shame pursues us, and how hard we find it to wipe out the sense of inferiority and degradation that stains our self-complacency. But there is a very climax of ignominy in having excited in the unerringly just mind of God feelings of anger against us. One might have reasonably supposed that a man would die of shame were he conscious of having merited the displeasure and condemnation of such a Being as God is; but the coldness of a friend gives us more thought and the contempt of men as contemptible as ourselves affects us with a more genuine confusion.

2. Religion's Childhood and Maturity.—

Few of Paul's converts seem at once to have apprehended, as he himself did, what was meant by religion. Again and again, with a keen pang of disappointment, he exclaimed: "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain—lest after all my teaching you should suppose that the observance of days and months and times and years is the ultimate spiritual condition and highest felicity of the human soul." All the commandments and ordinances with which his converts were familiar were meant for the childhood-stage of religion. They were the *pædagog*ue and school requisite for the child, unsuitable for the man. Their very function was to make the child a man, independent of them. There is no merit in any training except in so far as it raises us above it. It proves its own weakness by requiring prolonged attendance of the pupil. To suppose that by adhering to external observances we please God is to show that these observances have not effected their purpose. We cannot show our religion, our

love to God, by attendance on these, any more than a son who is now a grown man can show his love for his father by going back to the infant school to learn spelling, or by refusing to go along the street without a pædagogue to lead him.

How much are we to discard as an old school-book? The ceremonial washings, the sacrifices, the elaborate dresses of the priests, the scrupulously adhered-to ritual—these, no doubt—but what more? Perhaps the best rule for the individual is to see that he escapes the dangers of either extreme.

1st. Of leaving school too soon. A man says, Religion does not consist in going to Church, in reading the Bible, in being grave and quiet and sleepy all Sunday. Religion is union with God, life as it ought to be. I am tired of rules, of watching, of hedging my natural path with considerations; this is no life at all. I wish freedom, spontaneity, to live from inward impulse. But this man is really the foolish truant who rebels against the drudgery of school, or the boy who apes manhood and snatches at a liberty he has not yet grown up to. To be master of our life we must submit to authority and learn by obedience to rule. For all of us, first the law and then the spirit.

2nd. But there is an opposite danger, the danger of staying at school too long, of never growing past dependence on elaborate forms of worship, ritualistic service, the outward garnishings of religion. Many confound means and end, the ordinances which are meant to lead us to religion with religion itself. They read the Bible as an end in itself, not as a means; as a duty to be done for its own sake, not as valuable only for the effect it produces. It were ludicrous to see a man of forty going to school with his bag of books as if schooling were an excellent thing irrespective of age. Some Christians present the same spectacle.

M. D.

*SURVEY OF RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE
ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.*

TEXTUAL CRITICISM.—The stars in their courses fight against the enthusiast who sacrifices his talent to the rehabilitation of exploded theories. Mr. Miller,¹ had he been content to narrate the history and exhibit the material and principles of Textual Criticism, might have produced a useful manual. But the reader quickly apprehends that the motive of his book is not scientific but controversial; and it cannot be disguised that the prefatory history of the science is hurried through in order that the writer may reach the more congenial task of assailing the method of Drs. Westcott and Hort. Mr. Miller is a follower of Dean Burgon. He has more modesty and less of what he euphemistically speaks of as “natural impetuosity” of style, than his master; and he makes no pretension to his great learning, though he writes with intelligence and lucidity. But it might have been expected of a scholar who is at least fairly well read in his subject, to understand that mere hole-picking is not the kind of criticism which it is seemly to apply to such a work as Drs. Westcott and Hort have accomplished. That their theory should be canvassed and sifted is inevitable and desirable. Their method must be appraised if Textual Criticism is to claim a place among the sciences. But this appraisement can be made only by critics competent to weigh their method as a whole, and to apprehend its strong points as well as its difficulties, learned enough to check their distribution of MSS. by first-hand acquaintance with them, and sufficiently imbued with the scientific spirit to carry an unbiassed mind through the investigation. The character of Mr. Miller’s criticism may be recognised from the following instances. His first criticism is, that too little stress is laid upon Internal Evidence, and with this criticism many scholars will be disposed to agree; but in substantiation of this criticism he goes on to say that in Westcott and Hort’s text “we are told that the Lord’s side was pierced before death.” Mr. Miller does not inform his readers that the clause alluded to is in Westcott and Hort’s Greek Testament enclosed within double brackets, and that these double brackets signify that this is one of the passages in which the

¹ *A Guide to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.* By Edward Miller, M.A., Rector of Bucknell, Oxon. London: George Bell & Sons, 1886.

original record has, in the judgment of the editors, *suffered interpolation* in all extant Non-Western texts. Next we find Mr. Miller charging Drs. Westcott and Hort with "a lofty disregard of the obvious truth that generations might be propagated as fast as the pens of scribes would admit"—an accusation which proves that Mr. Miller has not fully grasped the genealogical method, and also that he has disregarded explicit statements of the scholars he criticizes, as when they say, that "the exemplar from which a MS. was copied may have been only a little older than itself." Other criticisms advanced in this volume are equally futile, and we can only wonder with what eyes Mr. Miller has read the history of Christianity when he clenches his argument by asking: "Is it indeed possible that the great King of the new kingdom, who has promised to be with His subjects 'alway even unto the end of the world,' should have allowed the true text of the written laws of His kingdom to lurk in obscurity for nearly fifteen hundred years, and a text vitiated in many important particulars to have been handed down and venerated as the genuine form of the Word of God?" If Mr. Miller's book reaches a second edition the proofs should be more carefully corrected; misprints occur with abnormal plentifulness, as *e.g.* on pp. 92, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, many of them in the spelling of proper names. Such expressions as "an invaluable Prolegomena" might also with advantage be avoided.

Mr. Scott has done admirable service in gathering up all the material available for presenting an intelligible account of *Ulfilas*,¹ his church and his work. The original sources are not oppressively ample, but by a judicious use of these, together with a full and careful study of the modern authorities, a sufficiently clear and connected narrative has been achieved. Mr. Scott exhibits in this essay not only a most commendable diligence, but decided aptitude for historical studies. The reader feels himself brought into the presence of real people and stirring events; and this without any disquieting suspicion that the vividness of the picture is due to a lively fancy rather than to true historical imagination reproducing the actual past. The chapter which may be supposed to have most interest to readers of this Magazine, that upon the Gothic version of Scripture, is

¹ *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths*. By Charles A. Anderson Scott, B.A., Naden Divinity Student at St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes, 1885.

intelligently written, but contains little that does not already lie to our hand in Scrivener, Reuss, or Schaff. Mr. Scott could not do better than pursue his Gothic studies and produce a full monograph on this monument to the greatness of Ulfilas. [On p. 128 should not 1736 be 1756; and why depart from the received spelling of Bobbio?]

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.—A book of marked ability and of considerable importance appears from the pen of a new writer, Mr. Robert Mackintosh.¹ The subject is Christ and the Jewish Law, and as an exegetical monograph it has no superior in the English language. To students of Biblical Theology this may seem to be no very high praise, for monographs of this kind may be counted on the fingers of one hand. But it is the very paucity of such essays which lends increased importance to every addition to their number, and very special importance to an addition so vigorous and thoroughgoing as the present volume. In the German language it is easy enough to find master-pieces in this department of literature, works in which a subject is handled from the stand-point of the most rigorous and advanced exegesis, and in which each passage that has a bearing upon the theme is submitted to searching analysis. But even in Germany there are few treatises in Biblical Theology which will compare with this for profound and decisive interpretation of Scripture, for comprehensiveness of view, for combined boldness and sobriety of thought, for robust reason, fineness of discernment, and a masculine and caustic wit. And when we find in our own language a treatise which uses German methods with German thoroughness and more than German judgment, we recognise that a new departure is being made in theological science—a departure in which, however, we fear that few may be found competent to follow Mr. Mackintosh.

The attitude which Christ assumed and maintained towards the Jewish Law is of course a subject of cardinal importance. Our conception of the sense in which Christ was the founder of a new religion, and of the sense in which He claimed to be the ultimate revelation of God and authoritative, must be determined largely by His attitude towards previous revelations. And

¹ *Christ and the Jewish Law*. By Robert Mackintosh, B.D.; formerly Cunningham Scholar, New College, Edinburgh. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886.

this can be ascertained by His own explicit statement of the relation He bore to the law, by the manner in which He acted in His outward life, by the contents of His ethical teaching, by the judgment He pronounced upon ceremonies and traditions, by the manner in which He comported Himself towards questions of politics and statesmanship, and by the claims to authority He made. Each of these points is carefully dealt with by Mr. Mackintosh. The passages from the Gospels which have any bearing upon them are grouped and analysed in presence of recent German criticism. In this part of his task Mr. Mackintosh exhibits very unusual exegetical capacity; his accurate determination of the literal sense being equalled by his profound insight into the deeper meanings and connexions of Christ's words and conduct. So that even when the results are not surprisingly or suspiciously novel, the process by which they are reached is always original and so full of what is luminous and far-reaching that the effect of the old truth upon the mind is similar to the thrill of discovery. Indeed the treatise as a whole has the effect of a powerful apologetic, and he must be a well instructed reader indeed, or more probably an ill-instructed reader, who does not feel that it has given him a clearer view of Christ's purpose and a more intelligent hold of the substance of His work.

For detailed criticism there is here no space; but Mr. Mackintosh will pardon the suggestion that the distinction between his own view of Matt. v. 17, and Bleek's view, should not have been so summarily dismissed; that his dismissal of "the traditional Protestant exegesis," which understands that in the Sermon on the Mount Christ is removing the dross that had gathered about the Moral Law, is hardly consistent with his own admission on p. 54; that the difficulties he finds in interpreting the narrative which tells of the disciples plucking the ears of corn on the Sabbath partake somewhat of the "much ado about nothing" style of criticism; and that he should either have said less or more regarding Paul's view of the Atonement. We quite agree with him in thinking that when Christ said: "I came not to destroy the law or the prophets but to fulfil," He claimed "to fulfil the Law considered as a prediction of Himself"—a meaning, it may be said in passing, which receives strong verbal support from Paul's use of the same word "fulfil" in Rom. xiii. 8 and 10.

But as Mr. Mackintosh reasonably holds that Christ's morality is beyond the morality of the Law, that the very centre of Christ's originality was the originality of His ethical teaching, and that His revelation was an essential advance on the Old Testament, it would have been quite worth his while to exhibit distinctly, as he could very easily have done, the reconciliation of two positions which some eminent scholars have considered irreconcilable. "What Christ really does is, first, to re-affirm the Law; secondly, to give a new teaching." Yes; but how many questions are stirred which this bare indication of a solution does not answer. On the whole Mr. Mackintosh packs his thought too tightly. The reader is in general the gainer by this compression, but occasionally the expression is a little obscure.

We should like to quote one or two passages in justification of our praise of this book; but it must suffice to point to what the author has to say on the term "Covenant," on the *raison d'être* of the New Testament Canon, on the Establishment Principle; to the firm seat and clear eye with which he enters the lists against the champions of the Tübingen theory, to the glimpses he incidentally affords into the rationale of Christianity and the central apologetic truths, and above all to the exquisite passage on Jesus' conception of the Messiahship. Yet it is not by selected passages this book can be fully appreciated. Its excellence is the excellence of uniform, free, unstrained ability. From the first word to the last it is alive. The writer never nods, and even in handling the most worn topics, he is never commonplace. He cannot help himself; he hits hard because he is strong, he is original because nature has made him so. His knowledge is not a barren scraping together of facts, but the knowledge which serious thought attains, the knowledge of opinions and of schools of thought, of their relations to one another and of their consequences.

Had Mark Pattison's *Sermons*¹ appeared before his *Memoirs* they would have received a much more distinct and cordial recognition. The *Memoirs* have in some minds quenched all avidity to read the *Sermons*, while they have led others to accept the *Sermons* merely as a fresh instrument for measuring the development of the author's opinions and for noting the arrested development of his character. Intrinsicly however they are of

¹ *Sermons*, by Mark Pattison, late Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. London: Macmillan, 1885.

great value, although their special value is so little of that kind which we look for in sermons that the reader is tempted to think they might more appropriately have been termed Essays. The public, however, has already been informed that the manner of the preacher partly removed this impression; that "the impassive attitude, the grim figure, the fleeting sardonic smile, even the formal black gloves—the distinct, sepulchral, almost croaking voice—the contemptuous absence of oratorical art—the biting, grinding, unvarying rhythm of the argument, as it were the pulse of an infallible teaching machine—the mental tension excited from the first and equally maintained to the end, without rising or falling," all conspired at any rate to convey the strong personal influence of the preacher. The volume as it stands, apart from the fascinating or oppressive presence of the author, is a master-piece of English prose, and is the most complete and philosophical defence of education as opposed to indoctrination. "That the intellect and the character have a health, a beauty, a perfection of their own, and that the attainment of this perfection is the scope of a liberal education, and that this mental cultivation is a thing quite distinct from the acquisition of information, or the inculcation of truth, or the reception of certain opinions;" and "that not the promotion of truth but the cultivation of the individual, is the end at which we have to aim; that our business in this place is to form the mind, to enlarge, to correct, to refine it—to qualify it to know, not to give it knowledge"—these are the central points from which the whole wide survey taken by the writer is viewed, these are the themes to which the author's characteristic ripeness of knowledge and keen historical insight here make their weighty contributions. Each sermon presents some particular aspect of the subject, or pursues some related line of thought. Those of us who used to watch in the magazines for one or two paragraphs of his always just and informative criticism, have here the satisfaction of listening to him on the problems to which his mind habitually recurred: the reconciliation of thought and action in the life of man, the justification of devotion to intellectual pursuits, the ascetic element in philosophical education, the contrasted methods of the individualistic and social theories of education, the perfect harmony between Christianity and the highest intellectual culture, the attitude of philosophy and science towards Christianity at the present day. Throughout

the volume there occur passages which by their masculine reasoning and felicitous and final expression must become classical; while there are others, such as that on the dangers and opportunities of life at Oxford, and that on the high calling of Oxford dons to lead in self-improvement and be examples to immortals, which must have provoked much comment both amusing and not amusing. The tone of the book is one in which regret and hope strive for the mastery; and in which his own noble conceptions of life and aspirations that persisted through all failure are unconsciously extended to Oxford, of which he was so great a part, and to the Church of England, to which he was more loyal than he knew. Thus while he does not hesitate to declare that Oxford has forfeited her position as intellectual guide of England by misconceiving her true function and attempting impracticable compromises, he at the same time believes in her recuperative power to renounce competition with technical schools and become once more a true gymnasium for the man. And thus also while boldly affirming that "the Church of England has ceased to be an intellectual power in England," he declares with equal boldness that, "it seems to be the business of the English Church especially, a Church which has never yet broken with reason or proscribed education, to fairly face these questions, to resume the natural theology of the past age, and to re-establish the synthesis of science and faith."

MISCELLANEOUS.—Principal Tulloch has chosen for the St. Giles' Lectures¹ a subject which cannot fail to attract, and which is at the same time in keeping with his previous studies and suited to his genius. His faculty is critical rather than historical. His hand is surer when he is analysing a character than when he is tracing a movement. In the present volume there is much acute and sound criticism of the leaders of religious thought, but little help is furnished towards the difficult task of finding the nexus between the various movements of thought. Indeed, the reader finds that even in tracing individual currents he is not always taken to the very source. He is not brought into the presence of the inevitable force which is urging on the movement, so that it must roll on till like a wave it breaks and dissipates to recur in a new

¹ *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century.* By John Tulloch, D.D., LL.D., Senior Principal in the University of St. Andrews. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1885.

form, or till like a tree it fructifies and seeds for the lasting good of men. Even in dealing with the growth of opinion in the leaders of thought, essential steps are sometimes unnoticed. The amount of space given to Erskine, Scott, Campbell, and Irving, and the position assigned to them, will be attributed by the candid reader, to the pardonable personal predilections of the Author, but will scarcely advance his reputation as a historian. On the other hand, the Oxford movement deserved more care and truer sympathy than Principal Tulloch has spent upon it; while there will not be wanting Evangelicals to affirm that his Broad-Churchism shows its narrowness in his inability to discover that they too have at times some "thought" mingling with their religion. Notwithstanding all drawbacks, the book is full of pleasant reading, the tone is good, and the point of view firmly and distinctively Christian, and as a first sketch of the period nothing better can be expected or desired.

The writers who accumulate material for the historian deserve well of their country, and among these serviceable writers Mr. Overton has already won for himself a place. His present work¹ partakes rather too much of the character of a book of reference or collection of materials. The first part gives an account of the lay and clerical members of the Church of England who lived during the period dealt with, and forms in fact a biographical dictionary of the period. In the remainder of the volume the growth of philanthropical and religious societies, the finance, the ritual, the services of the Church, and its relation to civil society are dealt with. Those who are familiar with Mr. Overton's previous writings do not need to be told that in his present volume they will find a great deal of painstaking research, the fullest sympathy with everything good, and consequently much sound reflection and criticism. The book should be a favourite in English households, and will be valued by the clergy.

To criticise a volume which is strictly apologetic scarcely falls within our province. But a slight notice of Mr. Tymms' book² might be justified, if necessary, by the fact that it enounces a theory of Scripture. Of that theory we can only say that it

¹ *Life in the English Church (1660-1714)*. By J. H. Overton, M.A., Rector of Epworth. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1885.

² *The Mystery of God. A Consideration of some Intellectual Hindrances to Faith*. By T. Vincent Tymms. London: Elliot Stock, 1885.

looks in the right direction, but that its author will move on to a much safer position if he weighs with due judgment what has been advanced by the late Frederic Myers and by the present Bishop of Ripon. The little shilling volume of the last-named writer is worth a ton of the current treatises on Inspiration. But in Mr. Tymms' chapters on Materialism, Pantheism, Theism, and the Person of Christ, there is much that is valuable; and on the whole the book is one of the most successful attempts to popularise the arguments in favour of Christian Theism. The reasoning is vigorous and occasionally original, the style is lucid and pleasant, and the good taste and temper with which he speaks of his antagonists is to be commended and recommended. We do not know a better introduction to the study of the authoritative writers on both sides of the enduring controversy.

We have received a *Fourth, carefully revised edition* of Dr. Donald Fraser's *Synoptical Lectures on the Books of Holy Scripture* (James Nisbet & Co., 1886).

MARCUS DODS.

THIS modest volume of memorial sermons, by the late Rev. W. G. Forbes, of Edinburgh,¹ discloses a singularly attractive personality, and will make many share in the regret of his friends at their author's early decease. It is not that the greater thoughts—if we may so describe them—stand out very conspicuously from the average of what would be found in contemporary sermons of the better quality, but the lesser thoughts have a quiet and chastened refinement which is peculiar to them, and they are clothed in language of exceptional purity and beauty.

The reader shall judge for himself from one or two short extracts, which we should have liked to make longer:—

“They stand there, each in his appointed place, in the blissful order of a perfect righteousness. . . . *There is no description given of the glory of the King upon the Throne, save what is seen in the veiled faces of these seraphim.* Even these burning ones, as their name implies, had to veil their faces from its brightness. . . . Are there indeed such revelations made of God in the upper world that His creatures, not only in lowly reverence, but in self-pro-

¹ *Memorials of a Brief Ministry : Sermons by the Late Rev. William G. Forbes.* Edinburgh : Elliott, 1885.

tection, have to cover their faces, and seek the darkness of an overshadowing wing? Will the conditions of this present life be so completely reversed?" (*The Vision of Isaiah*, p. 83.)

Again, after a happily worded paraphrase of the description of spring in the Song of Solomon ii. 11-13:—

"Although these are not altogether our associations with spring-time, the whole description is one into the meaning and feeling of which we can enter. It has the true and simple inspiration of nature, and, like all poetry so inspired, wakens up the soul to feel with it. The writer inspires us with his own *delicate joys*. The breath of spring still breathes through his words. Its scents, its fresh moist greenness, the old hopeful spring notes heard in the woods again, are all here." (*Spiritual Spring-time*, p. 147.)

Or this, in a slightly different key:—

"A meek and quiet spirit has deep fountains of calm within it, and beneath its gentleness a tranquil courage which outward fears cannot disturb." (*A Meek and Quiet Spirit*, p. 125.)

If we are not mistaken in our judgment, there is a fineness of touch in these extracts which would be worthy of Cardinal Newman, but tempered with something of constitutional meditateness and Northern gravity.

W. SANDAY.

CORRECTION.—In Professor Delitzsch's article in the EXPOSITOR for January, 1886, "The Bible and Wine," p. 67, lines 1 and 2, for "Thus it was unfermented wine, too, which Jesus handed to the disciples at His parting meal," read, "Thus it was fermented wine," etc. This unfortunate error was caused by a mistake in the original German. Professor Delitzsch will probably return to the subject in our pages.

EDITOR.

PAUL'S GOSPEL TO THE ROMANS.

WHEREVER St. Paul founded a Church, he was careful to give the spiritual edifice as solid a foundation of Christian teaching as the circumstances permitted. We are told that at Ephesus, where he made a long sojourn, he held religious discussions every day for two years in the school of one Tyrannus, "so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord" (Acts xix. 9, 10). We may be quite certain that what Paul thus gave was not a discursive, but a consecutive course of religious instruction. His mind was so logical that it could not fail to set its impress on his teaching.

The instructions which the Apostle thus gave in the Churches which he founded, extended over a very wide area, embracing even points which are often neglected by pastors in the preparation of their catechumens. Thus Paul reminds the Thessalonians that he had spoken to them, during his stay with them, of the coming of Antichrist, which was to precede the return of the Lord; or rather of the existence of a power, the fall of which was to prepare the way for the manifestation of Antichrist. "Remember ye not that when I was yet with you, I told you these things?" (2 Thess. ii. 5).

Elsewhere he reminds them in detail of the practical duties which he had enjoined upon them. "Ye know what charge we gave you through the Lord Jesus" (1 Thess. iv. 2). At the commencement of chap. v. of the same Epistle he writes to them, that they do not need to be taught about the time of the return of Christ; for they

know themselves that "the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night." He had, therefore, quoted to them the Lord's words on this subject, and had made these the text of his teachings.

In 1 Cor. vi., he says, as speaking to them of something of which they cannot be ignorant, "Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?" "Know ye not that we shall judge angels?" This teaching which he had given them, he repeats in chap. xv. 24, 25, where he speaks of a time coming when Christ shall reign, and all enemies shall be put under His feet.

These indications show how thorough and minute was the instruction given by the Apostle to these young Churches.

How was it then with the Church at Rome, the capital of [the Gentile world? The Gospel had reached there before the coming of the Apostle to the Gentiles. The message had gone before the messenger. Other lips had brought it from Asia and from Greece, where it had already made its way. Little groups of believers had been gathered by the preaching of the Gospel, elementary as it no doubt was, and these believing companies were scattered about in different quarters of the great city. One of these little flocks met in the house of Aquila and Priscilla; another in that of Asyncritus and Phlegon; a third in that of Philologus and Julia (Rom. xvi. 4, 14, 15). These simple hearts had received with joy the good news of salvation, but they still needed such a solid course of instruction as the Apostle was able to give them. This, if I mistake not, was the real motive which led him to address to them this letter, which is altogether different in character from the rest of his Epistles, except perhaps, in some respects, the Epistle to the Ephesians. He was anxious, if possible, to settle the young Church upon stronger and deeper foundations than those yet laid. He gives the Romans by letter

the Gospel which he had not been able (and let us thank God that it was so) to give them by word of mouth. After the death of a father or mother, the children are thankful for the occasional separations that had come between them and those beloved parents, for to this circumstance they owe the letters from them which are such treasured memorials. In the same way we rejoice that the Apostle was prevented from coming sooner to Rome, for to this delay we owe the Epistle to the Romans.

This motive which seems to me to have prompted the writing of this Epistle, is far from being generally recognised. From a very remote period, and still more since the time of Baur, this Epistle has been regarded as a piece of ecclesiastical strategy. Paul (we are told) was desirous to free this Church from the Judaising spirit, more or less pronounced, which characterised it. Those who hold this view, suppose that Christianity had been brought to Rome by some Jewish pilgrims returning from Palestine, or by messengers from the Church at Jerusalem. We know that the Roman Catholic Church speaks of St. Peter as having come to Rome in very early times, to set up there the standard of the cross. According to the Tübingen school, Paul endeavoured to make himself master of this alien, or hostile position, in order to secure in the West, whither he meant to carry the Gospel, a standpoint corresponding to that which he found in the Church at Antioch for his work in the East. But more recent investigation has brought out so distinctly the pagano-Christian composition of the Church of Rome, that this idea of the Epistle to the Romans is no longer tenable, and is now supported by very few writers.¹ The idea now is rather that the Apostle's object was to resist a Judaising invasion from the East, which seriously threatened the Church of Rome. The same troublesome party which had

¹ Mangold, for example.

followed Paul into Galatia and Achaia, trying to bring these Churches into the bondage of legalism, had come to Rome also, and had stirred up some to oppose the spiritual teaching of Paul. The Apostle writes this Epistle in order to meet this difficulty. This is Weizsäcker's opinion. But it appears to me that a comparison of the Epistle to the Galatians with this Epistle to the Romans, suffices to make us distrust it. The polemical tone of the Epistle to the Galatians, written, as it is supposed by Weizsäcker, under circumstances analogous to those which prompted the Epistle to the Romans, is in such strong contrast with the calm didactic strain of the latter, that it is difficult to suppose the two were composed under similar conditions, or for the same ends. We may observe again, that in arguing with the Galatians, Paul takes as his starting point the person of Abraham and the patriarchal origin of the Jewish covenant; while in the Epistle to the Romans, he goes back to the very beginning of the race, to Adam and his fall, as the occasion of the universal reign of sin and death. These two lines of argument bear the same relation to each other as the two genealogies of Matthew and Luke. So little is it the object of the Apostle in the Epistle to the Romans to emphasise the contrast between Judæo-Christian legalism and his Gospel, that he begins with a description of the corruption of the pagan world, which would be altogether irrelevant on such a supposition. It is not, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, the powerlessness of the law to save man, which is the prevailing thought in the Epistle to the Romans, though that comes in incidentally. It is the powerlessness of man, as such, to save himself, whether with or without the law, and the necessity of salvation by Christ, which is the great theme of the Epistle to the Romans.

But why then, we hear some one ask, are there so many passages dwelling emphatically on the incompetence of the

law either to justify or sanctify? We reply: It must be borne in mind that even in treating of mankind at large, the Apostle could not omit the Jewish nation, and that in dealing with the question of salvation, he was under the necessity of paying particular attention to this people. Was it not the only nation with which the Lord had entered into covenant, and to which He had given the means of grace? the only nation, therefore, which had anything that could be added to or contrasted with the salvation which Paul preached? the only nation which could urge its peculiar claims in face of, and even in the midst of, the Church? It is none the less true that this antithesis holds only a secondary place in the Epistle. It is the *man*, whether Jew or Gentile, and not the *Jew*, whom Paul has in view. Hence he begins with a picture of the corruption of the Gentile world on the one hand, and of the Jewish nation on the other, that he may justify the sentence of universal condemnation which he then pronounces as the verdict of Scripture. And hence it is that in opposition to this universal condemnation, he lays such stress (chap. iii. 22) on the universality of the salvation offered in Christ. Therefore also, in concluding the history of salvation, he uses these words: "God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all" (chap. xi. 32).

This then is no controversy between Judaising and Pauline Christians. Paul is contrasting Christianity itself with the old pagan and Jewish religions, that he may show forth in Christ the one true and perfect salvation for the human race, lost as it was in its father Adam. The antithesis here is not, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, between Christ and Moses, but between Christ and Adam. As de Wette observes, it was fitting that the Church of the world's metropolis should receive the Apostle's teaching upon so great a subject.

It seems to us probable that this grand conception of

the Gospel formed the theme of the Apostle in his two years' course of religious instruction given at Ephesus, and that the Epistle to the Romans presents to us a summary of that teaching. The date at which this Epistle was written agrees with this supposition. It is evident from the Epistle itself, that the third mission of the Apostle to the East, his ministry in Asia Minor, was finished. He says so distinctly (chap. xv. 19-24): "So that from Jerusalem, and round about to Illyricum, I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ. . . . Now having no more place in these regions, and having these many years a longing to come unto you, whensoever I go into Spain, I hope to see you on my journey." Only before going thither he has to go again to Jerusalem, to take leave of the Church, and to hand over to it the collection which he had made on its behalf among the Gentile Churches. This definitely fixes the date of the letter. It was written at the close of his stay in Ephesus, and after the conclusion of the conflict with the Church of Corinth. Now at length Paul could make that stay in Achaia which he had so long planned (*see* 1st and 2nd Epistles to Corinthians), and enjoy three months' rest at Corinth (Acts xx. 3). This resting-time was fruitful of great results. It produced the greatest master-piece which the human mind had ever conceived and realised, the first reasonable exposition of the work of God in Christ for the salvation of the world.

It has often been asked, how it is that if this is the true character of the Epistle to the Romans, it contains absolutely no reference to Christology and Christian eschatology? We reply, in the first place, that this is not exactly the case. The humanity and divinity of the Saviour, though they are not treated directly, are evidently implied; the former in chap. v. 15, as well as in the whole parallel with Adam; the latter in chap. viii. 3, 32, and ix. 5. As to the eschatology, it is sufficiently and appropriately

referred to in chap. xiii. 11, 12. But the main reason is this. Neither the doctrine of the personality of Christ nor of His second advent, formed the subject of the special revelation granted to Paul on his conversion. Jesus Christ "taught him by revelation" (Gal. i. 11, 12) that which he twice calls in this Epistle *his Gospel*,¹ and that which he describes (Eph. iii. 2, 3) as his *part* in the general apostolic revelation. Now it is this personal part, this Gospel entrusted specially to him, that Paul hands down in this Epistle. The work is worthy of the occasion which called it forth. The situation was a solemn one. The evangelisation of the West was about to follow that of the East. This Epistle, addressed from Greece to Italy, was like a bridge connecting the two parts of the ancient world, the link between the two great works of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

The general plan of the Epistle to the Romans may be traced in various ways. Not indeed that it is wanting in clearness. The ideas follow each other in close logical sequence, each one the legitimate offspring of its antecedent and parent of what follows. The great divisions of the Epistle are clearly marked. It is rather the grouping of the parts which is somewhat doubtful. Let us notice first, the series of well marked divisions.

(1) We have the epistolary preamble (chap. i. 1-15), in which Paul reminds the Christians of Rome that as the Apostle of the Gentiles, he is also their apostle, and that if he has not yet been to see them, it has been simply because he has been prevented by his work in the East.

(2) The second division contains only the description of the subject about to be treated—the Gospel as the true and only way of salvation for mankind, whether Jew or Gentile (v. 16, 17).

(3) The third division comprises the treatment of the

¹ This expression occurs again in 2 Tim. ii. 8.

first part of the subject indicated ; it extends from chap. i. 18, to the end of chap. v. It includes three sections. In the first (chap. i. 18-iii. 28) Paul shows the lost condition of man without the Gospel ; 1st, of the Gentiles (chap. i. 18-32) ; 2nd, of the Jews (chap. ii. 1-iii. 8) ; 3rd, of *all*, on the testimony of the Old Testament itself (chap. iii. 9-20).

The second forms the antithesis of the first. In the midst of this darkness of fallen humanity a ray of light suddenly breaks forth. This is free pardon, justification by faith, offered to all as a means of salvation, based upon the work of Christ (iii. 21-v. 11). First of all, the work of Christ is set forth as consisting in a manifestation of the Divine righteousness, so that he who consents to appropriate it by faith, thus becomes righteous before God, and this grace, being completely free, is placed within the reach of Gentiles as well as Jews (iii. 23-31). 2nd, This method of God's dealing in the Gospel is altogether in harmony with the great example of justification in the Old Testament—the example of Abraham ; for that patriarch obtained everything by faith—justification, his inheritance, posterity (chap. iv.). 3rd, This justification which the Christian obtains by faith is assured to him not only for the time present, but for the day of judgment, and consequently for ever. For it is accompanied by another grace which renders it permanent, the grace of sanctification (chap. v. 1-11).

Before describing this new gift however, which makes the first immutably secure, the Apostle asks in a third section, if the work of One like Jesus Christ can really extend its influence over many to such an extent as to justify all mankind. By a bold line of argument, he adduces in proof of this power, the fatal influence which the one sin of Adam has exerted. If this sin of Adam's has been powerful enough in its effects to bring death upon all men, how much more shall the far mightier work of Christ bring in eternal life. This concludes the first division of

the subject, that which deals with the fundamental fact of salvation, justification by faith. This part resembles the first day of creation, in the first chapter of Genesis. "*There was evening,*" the long night of condemnation on Jew and Gentile; and "*there was morning,*" the manifestation of Christ and of salvation. This was *the first day*. This first act is to be followed by many others, designed to complete the salvation of God.

The fourth division is not less clearly defined than the foregoing. It extends from chaps. vi.–viii. In this the Apostle works out the theme indicated in ver. 9, 10 of chap. v., when, after having spoken of reconciliation by the death of Christ, he adds the further gift of participation in His life. Having become by faith in the atoning sacrifice, one with Jesus Christ, the believer shares at once in His death and in His risen life. The believer dies to the sin for which Christ died, and he lives to God for whom alone Jesus lives in His resurrection life (chap. vi. 1–13). This effect of faith is produced in him by a moral necessity such that if he sought to evade it, he could only do so by denying the faith, and falling back under the old power of death under the law (chap. vi. 14–23). Being thus legitimately delivered by the death of Christ from the bondage of the law under which he was incessantly sinning, he is henceforward free to live in the new union with the risen Christ, a union in which he brings forth fruit unto God (vii. 1–6). Paul is here giving his own actual experience. He had himself lived under the law, and he knew that when the law came in contact with his moral life, it condemned it, and thus gave a sense of separation from God, and of spiritual death. In this state he was constantly striving to satisfy the requirements of the law, and to regain the favour of God. He did not succeed, and the result of all this fruitless struggle was an agonised cry: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me out of the

body of this death!" . . . "With the mind I serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin." By his manner of expressing himself here, the Apostle gives the impression that it would still be so with him at the very moment when he is speaking, if he were left to himself and separated from the salvation he had received (chap. vii. 14-25). But this state of condemnation and powerlessness is no longer his. The spirit of Christ by the imparting to him the holy life of the Lord, has delivered him from spiritual death, and made him capable of fulfilling the law spiritually, as Christ Himself fulfilled it; and this new life is to him the pledge of future victory even over the death of the body (chap. viii. 1-11). For just as eternal death is certain for those who live after the flesh, so the Divine heritage of eternal life is assured to the children of God who live after the spirit (ver. 12-17). The Apostle sets forth here the final issues of salvation—glory manifesting itself even in the outward, corporeal and material domain. A threefold sigh goes up after this universal renovation; the sighing of nature itself, of the redeemed, and of the Holy Spirit; and this sighing will be heard, for it is in harmony with the will of God, according to which those whom God has foreknown as believers are predestinated to bear the glorious likeness of His Son (ver. 17-30). Having reached this culminating point, the Apostle strikes the keynote of the grand song of salvation. God is for us, therefore nothing which is against us can break the bond formed between Him and us by faith in Christ (ver. 31-39). This fourth division sets before us, therefore, the destruction of sin and the restoration of holiness, thus completing the work of justification, and preparing the way for our glorification. This is the *second day* in the Divine work of salvation, *Christ in us* carrying on and consummating the work of *Christ for us*.

Here the fifth division begins, as it appears at first, some-

what abruptly. This division takes in chaps. ix.-xi. The Apostle has just been magnifying the grace enjoyed by the Church; but Israel, the chosen people, remains without, and shares in none of these high privileges. Is this possible? is it just? What end can be answered by it? If the salvation proclaimed by the Gospel is of God, ought it not to be, first of all, the portion of the chosen people? The Gospel which sets this great problem, must surely, if true, furnish its solution. This solution the Apostle gives us in these chapters (ix.-xi.).

And first of all, however real the prerogative of Israel as the chosen people, it cannot be of force to bind God against His will, or to make void His word. Now Scripture shows, by the example of Ishmael and Esau, both true sons of Abraham, and yet rejected, that to be descended from that patriarch, which is Israel's boast, is not in itself an assurance of salvation. There are spiritual conditions of salvation, failing which a man, even though an Israelite, is rejected and condignly visited with that punishment of having his heart hardened, which fell upon Pharaoh. But if these conditions are fulfilled, even by a Gentile, they qualify the man to become the subject of the infinite mercy of God, like Moses himself. It belongs to God only to try the heart. Consequently He has the right to exercise His Almighty power freely and without human control; to harden whom He would punish, to bless whom He is pleased to save, for what seems good to such a Being must be good. Just so the potter, discerning the nature of the clay he has to fashion, sets apart some for honourable and the rest for vile uses. That which was then taking place, the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles, had been so clearly foretold by the prophets, that none should be stumbled at it (chap. ix. 1-29). Not only then was the rejection of Israel possible, but it ought to have been expected according to

the Scriptures. But is it just? Were there sufficient reasons for so severe a measure? Yes, assuredly; for notwithstanding its zeal for God, Israel had persisted in resisting the Divine plan. With the coming of Christ, the reign of the Law, and consequently the monopoly of Israel, was to cease. Israel was obstinately bent on perpetrating both. The work of Christ inaugurated the era of a free salvation, by which the Gentiles were placed on the same level as Israel. Moses himself had clearly foreshadowed this revolution, when he represented salvation as the gift of God, and not as the reward of human effort. But Israel was unwilling to give up its position of privilege, and was bent upon maintaining it at all costs against the whole world. It everywhere set itself against the proclamation of salvation to the Gentiles. It never grasped the meaning of the warnings of the prophets, of Moses, and particularly of Isaiah, who all foretold the coming rejection of Israel and the calling in of the Gentiles to take its place (chap. ix. 30-x. 21). Was then that glorious vision of a kingdom of Messiah of which Israel should be the centre, to vanish away for ever? Were the promises of God to this people to be entirely and for ever annulled? Nay, this could not be. In the first place, there were believers in Israel, as the example of Paul himself proves; and if the mass of the people was visited by a judgment of hardening for its pride, there was yet a faithful "remnant according to the election of grace" (xi. 1-10).

Nay, more; the great body of the nation was itself one day to return and be reinstated in that kingdom of God from which for the moment it was shut out. Here the Apostle opens before us a long vista in the purposes of God. Israel, with its Pharisaic tendencies, could not have accepted Messiah without endeavouring to introduce into the new dispensation a strong leaven of legalism. Now salvation preached to the Gentiles under this Judaised

form would infallibly have been rejected by them. It was necessary then that Israel, since it was incorrigible in these forms of error, should be blinded so as not to recognise Jesus as the Messiah at all, that so the Gospel, freed from all alloy of legalism, might make its way throughout the whole world. But what is the depth of the mercies of God! This salvation, once realised among the Gentiles, will one day stir the rejected Jews to holy emulation, so that they will covet a share in the rich blessings enjoyed by the Gentiles, and will in the end receive the Christ by whom the Gentiles have been so blessed. And not only so, but this entering of believing Israel into the Church will be the signal for a spiritual revival and new fruitfulness throughout Christendom. Thus, as the casting away of the Jews led to the conversion of the Gentiles, so the conversion of the Gentiles will in its turn lead to that of the Jews. And this restoration of Israel will not be so hard of accomplishment as it might seem; for there is still holy sap in that rejected vine, so that it will be grafted in again upon the tree of the Divine covenant more readily than the Gentiles themselves were grafted in. Nay, it might even happen that if the Gentiles indulge in proud boasting against the Jews, they may be for a time rejected as were the Jews.

As the final issue, we see all humbled, each in his turn by a term of disobedience, but all at last gathered in by the all-embracing arms of the Father's love. And as at the close of chap. viii. the Apostle burst into a jubilant hymn of praise over the assurance of salvation, so now he magnifies, in one adoring exclamation, the depth of the wisdom of God's ways with man.

With chap. xii. a new division begins. The opening words, "*I beseech you then,*" fitly introduce its contents, which are the practical consequences which ought to follow in the lives of believers from the Divine works, the mercies of God

just set forth. These consequences bear on their conduct, first, as members of the Christian community (chap. xii.), then as belonging to the great human family (chap. xiii.). Beside these two general applications of Christian principles, the Apostle makes one particular application to a difficulty existing in the Church at the time when he was writing (chap. xiv. 1-xv. 13). The section of the Epistle which we are now considering, extends therefore from chap. xii. 1 to xv. 13. Paul begins by laying down in the first two verses of chap. xii. the basis of Christian activity. This he represents to be the complete sacrifice of self made by virtue of a renewed mind which has become quick to discern, in every case, the will of God. He next shows the twofold form in which this sacrifice is to be presented—first, as a member of the Church, by the faithful administration of the gift received, whatever it may be, with no ambition beyond its simple and conscientious use in all humility (ver. 3-8); next, by loving service of the brethren in all the relations of life, whether with the faithful or with the enemies and persecutors of the faith, so that all evil shall be overcome of good, that is, of love (ver. 9-21). To this sacrifice of self in all humility and charity the believer is to add, as a member of the state, respect for the rights of others in all civil relations, whether by submission to authority of every kind, or by just dealing towards all fellow-citizens; and this duty of fair dealing with all men the Apostle sums up as naturally implied in the bond of love (chap. xiii. 1-10). The Apostle concludes this exposition of the duties of the believer as a Christian and a citizen, by reminding him of the supreme motive by which he is ever to be sustained in his daily walk—the looking for the Saviour who is coming again, and for whose appearing the believer ought to be ever arrayed in pure garments, “putting on the Lord Jesus Christ” Himself (ver. 11-14). What follows relates to the relations of the Church with one

particular group of believers who thought it their duty to abstain from meat and from wine. The Apostle urges the obligation of mutual forbearance. Those who abstain ought not to judge those who believe they have a right to use the things which others deny themselves; and those who use them ought not to look with contempt on those who abstain, since in such matters every one is to be guided by his own conscience (chap. xiv.). That the strong should support the weak is a sacred duty laid upon them by the example of Christ Himself, and is it not the only means of realising the union in one spiritual body of believing Jews and Gentiles—those believing Jews to whom God has so amply vindicated His faithfulness to His promises, and those believing Gentiles whom He has freely loaded with His benefits (xv. 1-13)? The Apostle closes his summary of Christian duty with this thought of the spiritual union between the two great families of mankind in the Church, The close of his teaching is thus fully in accord with its commencement (chap. i. 16, 17), in which Paul dwelt on the salvation offered by faith alike to Jew and Gentile. The Apostle anticipates in prayerful desire the harmonious hymn of praise which is to rise from the whole Christian community to the glory of the redeeming work he has been describing.

The seventh and last division consists of concluding words corresponding to the preamble (chap. i. 1-15). After excusing himself for offering such teaching to this community which possesses within itself so many means of Christian instruction, but which nevertheless comes within his sphere as Apostle to the Gentiles, he tells the Christians of Rome how he is placed at the moment. His work in the East is finished; he is purposing to go shortly into Spain, and hopes to take this opportunity of visiting Rome. Lastly, he tells them of his approaching visit to Jerusalem, to hand over to the Churches the collection made for them

among the Gentile Christians, and thus to seal the bond of friendship between them and the mother-Church (chap. xv. 24-33). He commends the deaconess Phœbe, the bearer of the letter, to the kindly care of the Church; he sends greetings to the various Christian workers whom he knew personally, having met them in the East, and who were now labouring for the spread of the Gospel in the capital of the world. Then he warns the various groups of Christians against the Judaising agitators who have been so busy troubling one after another the Churches founded by him, and who will be sure to come to Rome as soon as they hear that there are Christian communities there. He concludes with greetings from the workers who are with him, and with a solemn prayer to God for this important Church, that it may be established in the truth of the Gospel "now made known unto all the nations unto obedience of faith."

Such is the Epistle to the Romans—this sublime effort of the human intellect to apprehend the thought of God in the salvation of mankind, and to give to the world its first clear exposition. How shall we distinguish, in this deep meditation on the things of God, the element of direct revelation given by Christ Himself, of which Paul speaks (Gal. i. 11, 12), from the natural workings of that rare intellect to which the Lord had been pleased to commit such a treasure? May we say that the substance was given by revelation, the form produced by reflection? It would be difficult to separate the two in this way. It would be better to say that Paul placed his intellect wholly at the service of Christ, to grasp and reproduce the Divine revelation. However this may be, we fail to find one gap in this great work, one break in its continuity. Everything is worked out in perfect order in this exposition of the Divine idea, as though by a law of inward necessity. But we note at the same time, very distinct divisions in it. We have enumerated seven, the first and the last

being of an epistolary character which marks them off from the rest; so that they are like the envelope which contains the letter itself. The interesting question with regard to these five intermediate sections is, how to group them; that is to say, what is really the plan of the Epistle, as conceived in the mind of the Apostle. Various answers may be given to this question. We may divide the body of the letter, as I have done in the first edition of my Commentary, into a doctrinal part (chap. i. 16-xi.) and a practical part (xii. 1-xv. 13); subdividing the first part into three sections—the one fundamental (i. 16-v.), explaining justification by faith; the two others supplementary, intended, the one (vi.-viii.) to set forth the holiness of the justified believer; the other (ix.-xi.) to explain the history of salvation from this standpoint. Or, as I have tried to do in my second edition, we may, while maintaining this great division into doctrinal and practical, subdivide the former into two sections, the one comprising chap. i. 16-viii., that is to say the whole exposition of salvation in its three essential phases—justification (i.-v.), sanctification (vi.-viii. 17), and the future and certain glorification of believers (viii. 18-39); the second setting forth the historical progress of salvation among mankind (chap. ix.-xi.). There is, however, a third mode of division, perhaps preferable, and which I think I should adopt if I were required to bring out a third edition. This would be to divide the whole matter contained in the five middle sections into three parts: first, chap. i.-viii., salvation; second, chap. ix.-xi., the history of salvation; third, xii.-xv. 13, the salvation-life. These three parts would be like the central block of a grand building, the two epistolary sections forming the two wings. Of course the only interest of such a question arises out of the desire to understand what was the idea present to the mind of the Apostle when he wrote the Epistle.

And now let us pause for a moment before this great structure, and try to count up some of the treasures it contains. I do not speak here of the light which flashes from it into the dark places of the heart of man, showing his corruption, his powerlessness for all that is good, and revealing at the same time the one way of salvation set before him, by which he may climb again the heavenly heights. I am speaking now of the intellectual treasures contained in these sixteen chapters, and which enrich with added treasure those who have already found the kingdom of God and His righteousness. In chap. i. we have a philosophy of paganism which searches to the very depths that great historical phenomenon, unveiling its hidden cause, and explaining its fearful consequences. In chap. iii. we have an explanation of the mystery of the cross which, better understood, would have prevented many misconceptions and removed many intellectual stumbling-blocks. In chap. v. we have a rapid survey of the history of humanity based upon the two opposite principles of life which regulate the whole development of the race. In chap. vi. we have the outlines of a moral philosophy which admirably combines the two elements of liberty and necessity. In chap. vii. we have an inimitable psychological analysis of the condition of unregenerate man, both as to what remains of good in him and as to his inability to realise his good intentions. In chap. viii. we have a philosophy of nature, which recognises the abnormal and transitory character of creation as it is, and which in this painful phase of its existence, corresponding to the fallen estate of man, discerns the pledge of a future renewal of all nature corresponding to man's glorious restoration. In chaps. ix.-xi. we have a philosophy of history which sets forth the great contrast between Israel and the Gentile nations as the key which can alone explain the strange vicissitudes of national life, and unlock the mystery of their final issues. In chap. xiii.

we have a system of political philosophy, which assigns to the State a basis no less Divine than that of the Church, "the powers that be being ordained of God" but, at the same time marks most distinctly the difference between the two societies, by the difference between the *love* which is the soul of the one (chap. xii.), and the justice which is the mainspring of the other. What we admire here is not so much this clear distinction between the State and the Church, since the Apostle would be naturally led to this by the hostility of the State to the Christian community at that time; but rather his recognition of the possibility of a moral union between the two resulting from this very distinction. For what opposition could there possibly be between the two equally Divine principles of justice and charity? or between two communities based the one on one of these principles, the other on the other. As to an administrative union between Church and State, Paul never dreamed of it, because of this very distinction. Justice is something due. The State may exact it by coercion. But with love it is not so. It is the free surrender of oneself under the constraining power of faith. The State cannot claim it. The Church alone can call it forth. Each of these two institutions has its proper sphere, and its special methods adapted for the work it has to do. This relation which even the nineteenth century so signally fails to comprehend, Paul places on its true basis.

Was not Coleridge right when he called the Epistle to the Romans, "the most profound writing extant"? It is a mine which the Church has been working for more than eighteen centuries, and from which it will go on drawing ever fresh treasures till it is raised at length from faith to perfect knowledge.

FREDERIC GODET.

TWO HEBREW NEW TESTAMENTS.

THE first attempt in modern times to translate any part of the New Testament into Hebrew was made by Shem Tob ben Shaprut, a Jew of Tudela in Castile, who, for polemical purposes, prepared a Hebrew version of St. Matthew's Gospel, which he completed in 1385. This version remained in MS. till it was published (with textual alterations) by Sebastian Münster, under the title תּוֹרַת הַמְּשִׁיחַ, *Evangelium secundum Matthæum in Lingua Hebraica, cum versione Latina atque succinctis annotationibus*, Basileæ, 1537.¹ This was reprinted in 1557 by the same scholar, together with a Hebrew version of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Other portions were translated by succeeding scholars, and the whole was finally completed by Elias Hutter, the entire version being included in the Polyglott New Testament, in twelve languages, issued by him in 1599. Elias Hutter, says Delitzsch, shows a command of Hebrew rarely found among Christians, and is often felicitous in his renderings. In 1809 was founded the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. Dissatisfied with the existing translations, this Society found itself before long with the task of revision upon its hands. The first revision, begun in 1813, was completed in 1817; and was reprinted subsequently in 1821, 1831, and 1835. A second revision followed in 1837-8, the joint work of the well-known Hebraist Alexander McCaul, J. C. Reichardt, an experienced missionary, S. Hoga, the translator into Hebrew of *Pilgrim's Progress*, and M. S. Alexander, who became in 1841 the first Bishop of the newly established see of Jerusalem. A third revision, undertaken by J. C. Reichardt, with

¹ It has been re-edited recently, from MSS., by Dr. Adolf Herbst (Göttingen, 1879), who in his Introduction collects particulars illustrative of its history and character.

the assistance of Dr. J. H. R. Biesenthal, an accomplished Rabbinical scholar,¹ and of Mr. Ezekiel Margoliouth, a missionary resident in London, and intimately acquainted with Jewish literature and learning, was completed in 1866.²

Meanwhile Professor Delitzsch, who amongst living Christian scholars is perhaps the most profoundly read in post-Biblical Jewish literature, and who throughout his life has felt the liveliest interest in everything affecting the welfare of the Jews,³ had directed his attention to the subject, and was induced ultimately, at the request of the Society of Friends of the Jews in Bavaria, Saxony and Norway, to take in hand an independent revision himself. The firstfruits of his labour was the translation into Hebrew of the Epistle to the Romans, with an Introduction and explanations from the Talmud and Midrash, which appeared at Leipzig in 1870. In the Introduction, after reviewing the history of past translations, and exemplifying the faults of style and expression, under which even the last revision of the London Society still laboured, Professor Delitzsch states the principles and motives of his own work. His aim is primarily a practical one—to bring home, namely, to the *διασπορὰ* of Israel the words of the Gospel, by presenting them in a form in which their force and meaning would be directly apparent to a Jewish reader. But in the attainment of this practical aim, other important ends are also secured. Not only does it demand, as the condition of success, an accurate exegesis of the New Testament itself,

¹ Author, amongst other works, of an edition of the Epistle to the Hebrews in Hebrew, with philological and other explanatory notes. (*Das Trosts Schreiben des Apostels Paulus an die Hebräer*, Leipzig, 1878.)

² Further details will be found in the Introduction to Delitzsch's *Brief an die Römer*, mentioned subsequently,

³ His emphatic and repeated protests against the charges falsely brought against the Jews by agitators in Germany and Austria, may be quoted as a recent illustration of this.

but the re-translation of the Greek text into the language from which much of its characteristic terminology was immediately borrowed, is often a means of materially aiding the work of interpretation. Thus, if properly executed, such a translation, besides subserving the practical aim which is its first object, is at the same time a valuable positive aid in the theological study of the New Testament. Very interesting examples of this are given by Professor Delitzsch in the work referred to; showing, for instance, how the Apostle's thought, even where it is most distinctively Hellenic or Christian, nevertheless finds expression in forms, and particularly in forms of reasoning, peculiar to the synagogue. Professor Delitzsch did not rest here, however; he continued his labours, taking naturally the London edition as the basis of his work, but subjecting it uniformly to correction and revision; and in 1877 the first edition of his complete New Testament, consisting of 2,500 copies, was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The edition was soon exhausted; a second and third, each of the same number, followed in 1878 and 1880; a fourth and fifth, of 5,000 each, in 1881 and 1883, and a sixth and seventh, the latter in large 8vo size, both also of 5,000 copies, in 1885. None of these editions are mere reprints of the preceding one; not only has the learned author himself laboured continuously to improve his own work, but especially in the third and following editions he has made considerable use of contributions and suggestions offered to him by competent Hebrew scholars in different parts of the world. The 8vo edition of 1885 (which has been more thoroughly revised than the 32mo edition of the same year¹) exhibits thus the maturest results of the author's studies; and it will be apparent, even from the

¹ The latter was printed from the electrotype plates of the previous edition, —not, however, without the introduction into them of many improved renderings. The price of these two editions is, respectively, 1s.6d. and 1s.

preceding rapid survey, what an amount of pains and thought is represented by it.¹

The past year has, however, seen another Hebrew version of the New Testament offered to the public. Isaac Salkinson, a missionary whose sphere of labour was among the Jews of Austria, had long been acknowledged as a master of Hebrew style. In temperament he was a poet: and his translations into Hebrew of Tiedge's *Urania*, of Shakespeare's *Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet*, and of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, show him to have possessed a rare genius for Hebrew composition, and a rare power of casting the thought of a modern poet into felicitously chosen Hebrew form. He was known to have been for some time past engaged upon the New Testament, but he was prevented from bringing his work to a conclusion himself by his premature death in June, 1883. It is understood that a considerable part was left by him in a practically complete form, but that the MS. of the rest was imperfect, and had to be completed and prepared for publication by the editor. The task of editing the whole was undertaken by his friend, Dr. C. D. Ginsburg; and the result, published by the Trinitarian Bible Society, London, is now before us. The work invites, and indeed, challenges, comparison with the version of Prof. Delitzsch, which was, so to speak, in possession of the field, and had been most favourably received by those

¹ See further a brochure, written in English by Professor Delitzsch, *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society: a contribution to Hebrew Philology* (Leipzig, 1882), in which reasons are stated for some of the changes introduced into the fifth edition, and which contains at the end (pp. 35-7) a list of papers and articles connected with the subject, by the same author (in particular, twelve papers in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift*, 1876-8, entitled *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, supplementary to Lightfoot and Schoettgen).

In many parts of the Continent, for instance in Germany and Italy, Hebrew is practically little known among the Jews; but elsewhere, especially in Austria and Russia, they are more familiar with it; and in those countries a considerable number of copies of the different editions of Delitzsch's version have been disposed of for missionary purposes.

best qualified to judge of its merits. Does it then sustain the comparison with the new version? or must our verdict be that the latter is its superior, either in fidelity, or in chasteness of style, and deserves to supplant it in the confidence of the public?

There can be no doubt as to the answer which these questions must receive. We desire to say nothing in disparagement of a work which, we may be sure, was undertaken as a labour of love, and the author of which can make no reply to the criticisms which may be passed upon it. But we cannot abstain from instituting the comparison which, by its publication, his work challenges. It is at once evident that its execution is uneven,—a circumstance due, it may be supposed, to the imperfect state in which the MS. was left at its author's death. In the best parts—for instance in the Gospels—his style is flowing and easy, his expressions are classical and well chosen; the pen of the “ready” and able writer has left its mark upon the pages. Ability, skill, delicacy of touch, must be frankly and gratefully acknowledged. The author shows that he can reach a high level of excellence; and probably, had he been spared to complete and revise his work continuously, the same qualities would have been visible throughout. But this, as we shall see, is not the case.

It should be premised that both translators have the same aim, to represent the N. T., namely, not in the more modern Hebrew found in the Mishnah (2nd cent. A.D.), and such as was probably spoken in the schools in the time of Christ; but, as far as possible, in the original language of the O. T., only admitting later terms, or forms of expression, where the use of them could not be avoided. The number of ideas occurring in the N. T. for which there is no equivalent in the O. T. is considerable. To say nothing of specific theological terms, such as *adoption, regeneration, baptism, faith, godhead*; ideas such

as *nature, freedom, promise, conscience, patience, danger,*¹ *doubt, worthy, ἔξουσι, μέλλει, δοκεῖ, δεῖ*, and even such apparently simple expressions as *not only . . . but also*, or *straightway*, have no distinctive equivalent in the O. T.; and in these cases recourse must of course be had to the more abundant Hebrew vocabulary of a later age.² But with exceptions such as these, particularly in the Gospels, Acts, and Revelation, it is the aim of both translators to employ as classical an idiom as possible.

Further, of the two, that of Salkinson affects more entirely the classical style. Thus in Matt. ii., in place of כְּנוּשִׁים, which occurs in the Talmud, and is employed by Delitzsch to represent the Greek *Μάγοι*, Salkinson uses הוֹי כּוֹכְבִים, an expression suggested by Isaiah xlvii. 13. Doubtless the expression is more classical than that of Delitzsch; but it must not be forgotten that by its use the *distinctive* sense conveyed by the Greek is entirely lost. In 1 Cor. x. 3, 4, the renderings *bread of heaven* and *rock of salvation*, for *spiritual meat* and *spiritual rock*, are undoubtedly clever; but they seriously obscure the drift of the Apostle's argument. It is a law of language that new words must sometimes be found in order to give expression to new ideas.

Let us then proceed with our comparison of the two translations, which for brevity may be referred to by the letters D. and S. respectively. In the first place, we

¹ The verb *endanger* occurs once, but not before Eccl. x. 9.

² Thus, to express ἀληθινός distinctly, אֱמִתִּי is often required (e.g. John i. 9; iv. 23, 37; vi. 32 Del.; compare in mediæval Hebrew such expressions as אֶחָדוּת אֱמִתִּית, *true unity*; דְּעוֹת אֱמִתִּית, *real opinions*, &c.). Similarly, for the sake of definiteness, it is necessary to use special adjectives to express such ideas as *spiritual, carnal, eternal*. See Rom. i. 20; xii. 1; 1 Cor. ii. 14; x. 4; xv. 44; Col. iii. 16 in Delitzsch's translation. The development of Hebrew which meets us in the Mishnah is analysed in Strack and Siegfried's *Lehrbuch der Neuhebräischen Sprache* (1884). The intermediate link between the normal classical Hebrew of the O. T. and the language of the Mishnah is afforded by the Hebrew of Ecclesiastes: see the list of idioms in the Introduction to Delitzsch's *Kohleth*, or in C. H. H. Wright's *Ecclesiastes* (1883), p. 488 ff.

notice a number of passages in which, though the renderings slightly vary, each is correct and appropriate, and a preference on either side can hardly be expressed. Secondly, we notice passages in which sometimes one sometimes the other has found the happier or more idiomatic expression. Instances in which S. appears to us to have been successful in the choice of phrases are Matt. i. 18; 19 (לדבת עם); ii. 5*b* (כה); 7*b*; 9*b*; 17*a*; iii. 12; viii. 24 (from עד); ix. 33; x. 19 (the rendering of $\tau\acute{\iota} \eta \pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$); xxvi. 42 (בלתי אם שתיתי); xxvii. 18; Luke i. 9; 20 (from עד); ii. 26*b*; xv. 27; xviii. 3*b*; Acts ii. 24; vii. 44. On the other hand, we prefer D. in Matt. ii. 13 (הם הלכו, an expressive idiom, used by the choicest writers of the O. T.); iii. 15 (הניחה—more suitable here); iv. 3*b* (אָמַר); viii. 8 (מְבוֹאֵד, cf. Gen. xxix. 19—why the circumlocution in S. ?); 29 *end*; ix. 32*a*; Luke iii. 11*b*; xviii. 4*b* (Deut. xxviii. 50); xxiii. 23*b*; 28; John ii. 9; 10; xiii. 22 (where the expressions in S. are inappropriate).

Thus passages of considerable length may be found, the style of which, speaking generally, is equally excellent, and in which there is no decided superiority on either side. But we have not to read far to find that this is not uniformly the case. It cannot be doubted that the Sermon on the Mount is better rendered in D. than in S. Not to lay stress here upon the imperfect syntax and incorrect forms prominent in Matt. v. 19; vi. 3*b*; 21*b*; 28; vii. 11, the style in D. is more flowing, and the expressions are better chosen. And elsewhere, for instance in parts of the Acts, the style of S. deteriorates still more; Paul's speech at Athens, and the account of the tumult at Ephesus (not to instance more) are simply barbarous Hebrew. In the Prologue of St. John, the sense is several times very imperfectly rendered, even if it be not distorted.¹ In such parts of the Epistles as we have ex-

¹ In John i. 1 חָיָה (both times) should be הָיָה; and וְהוּא before הַרְבַּר is more

amined we seldom find anything which is superior to D., and often that which is decidedly the reverse. Thus comparing the two translations in their broader and more general features, our verdict must be that S., though in parts it is excellent and shows the hand of a master, must be pronounced, as a whole, to be unquestionably inferior to D.

This opinion is strengthened when we come to examine details. Here (1), the *method of translation* followed by S. is open to criticism. In fact, he is not sufficiently faithful. Thus, in particular, instead of rendering a passage literally, he is apt to substitute for it a phrase borrowed, and often borrowed unsuitably, from the O. T. This practice is to be altogether deprecated. To be sure, in the translation of a modern poem into Hebrew, the adaptation of a phrase from the O. T. is permissible, and indeed is counted an elegance; but in such a work a strictly literal rendering is of small moment, a telling poetical equivalent is all that is required, and the original connexion or meaning of the borrowed phrase is unimportant. But in a translation of the N. T., both these matters are of serious importance. Moreover, the N. T. writers were not less familiar with the O. T. Scriptures than the modern translator; where they borrowed a phrase; or based their language upon a particular passage, this is always reflected distinctly in the Greek; in translating therefore the N. T. into Hebrew, it becomes a questionable liberty to adopt phrases, often rare or peculiar ones, from parts of the O. T. which there is no indication that the original writer had in his mind. Examples of such phrases, borrowed without sufficient reason, are Matt. ii. 3*b* (Isa. vii. 2); iii. 7 (עַל נַפְשֶׁכֶּם)

than superfluous. In v. 6 בְּאֵרֵן is an intrusion, the intended meaning of which is far from clear. In v. 14 the words which correspond to *καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο* are scarcely intelligible, and in any case do not represent the sense of the Greek; in particular, the participle expresses not an *event* (ἐγένετο), but a *state*. In v. 11 the distinction of *τὰ ἴδια* and *οἱ ἴδιοι* is obliterated; and the rendering of οὐ κατέλαβον suggests an inappropriate idea.

gratuitously inserted from Gen. xix. 17); v. 24;¹ 28 (where the rendering of D. preserves rightly the term used in the tenth commandment); 41 (כְּבֵרֶת אֶרֶץ); vi. 6 (cf. Ps. xviii. 12); x. 13 (יָחֹל); 32 (a recondite adaptation of Deut. xxvi. 17, 18, but a very considerable deviation from the Greek); xiii. 54 (Ps. xlvi. 6); xxv. 34 (הוֹסְדָה transcribed mechanically from Exod. ix. 18, the pronoun here having no antecedent! repeated strangely, John xvii. 24; 1 Pet. i. 20, and elsewhere); xxvii. 13 (Job xxxv. 16); 50 *end* (cf. Ps. xxxi. 6; but here no translation of the Greek, though suitable in Luke xxiii. 46. In support of D.'s rendering, see Gen. xxxv. 18 LXX.); 51*b* (the introduction of fragments of poetry ἀσυνδέτως is quite alien to the prose style of the O. T.); 52*b*; Mark ix. 6*b* (אֵימָתָה—a form unheard of in prose, but recurring elsewhere, e.g. 1 Cor. xiii. 6, עוֹלָתָה); 24 (an incongruous phrase from Ps. lxxx. 6); Luke i. 21 (עַד בּוֹשׁ—an arbitrary addition); ii. 40*b* (Ps. xlv. 3); iv. 40 (Isa. liii. 3); xviii. 1; 8 *end*²; xxiii. 10 and 14 (Job xxxvi. 19 and xxvi. 14 [so 1 Cor. xiii. 5]; both unsuitable); John viii. 43 (Isa. lvii. 19); xiii. 27 *end*; 31 (נֹאדָרִי, from Exod. xv. 6, *at the end of a verse!*); Acts xvi. 26 and xvii. 10 (again unsuitable poetical reminiscences); Gal. v. 1 (Josh. iii. 17, in a very different connexion); Jas. i. 5 (Jud. xviii. 7); Rev. iii. 17 (Job xxxi. 25); xviii. 7*b* (in spite of Isa. xlvi. 8, שְׂכוֹל is not = πένθος); 17 and 21 (Ps. lxxiii. 19 and Isa. liv. 8). In fact, such examples occur on nearly every page, and often several times in the same page.

Sometimes, in addition, the phrase thus borrowed is one of which the original meaning is uncertain, a precarious sense being arbitrarily affixed to it; at other times it is one which suggests a misleading or doubtful association. Thus (a) Matt. viii. 9 and Luke ii. 51 (in Luke especially the

¹ Reading of course, וְרֵב (Prov. vi. 3).

² עָלִי (here and elsewhere) is only poetical.

application of the phrase 1 Sam. xxii. 14 is inappropriate); x. 28, xxvi. 61 and elsewhere (a most questionable adaptation of the phrase in Deut. xxxiii. 7 in the sense of *be able* or *sufficient*); Acts ix. 22 and xv. 24 (סכסך); xii. 21 and xx. 7 (Deut. xxxiii. 3*b*); and (β), Matt. ii. 4 (the phrase ... שאל פי is used of asking for direction as to a course of action, not of asking for mere information); v. 21 (בפלילים: D. uses the later technical expression); xii. 13 (Exod. xiv. 27); xiv. 31 and xxviii. 17 (D. is certainly right in using the post-Biblical term for *διστάζειν*); xxi. 32*b* (the sense expressed is merely that of *take to heart*, not *repent*, שוב); xxv. 46 (דראונו [wrongly pointed] is no rendering of *κόλασιν*); Mark v. 2*b* (borrowed from 1 Sam. xvi. 15, but at the cost of obliterating the distinctive *ἀκάθαρτον*); ix. 12*b* (the quotation from Isa. liii. 4, 5, 8, is unwarranted, and no translation of *ἵνα πολλὰ πάθη καὶ ἐξουδενωθῆ*); 23 (יש לאל ידך); 41 (Exod. xii. 4); Luke i. 22 (Ps. xxii. 8, etc.); i. 66*b* (the phrase used denotes regularly to be seized by the prophetic impulse; Ezek. i. 3; iii. 22; 2 Kings iii. 15); iii. 8 (תשיג יד); John xi. 18 (1 Sam. xiv. 14); xii. 31¹ (Ps. cxl. 12); Acts xiii. 45*b* (2 Chron. xxxvi. 16 and Ps. lvi. 6: but no rendering of the Greek); xx. 9 (Ps. lxxvi. 6: but the entire verse is in fact a torso of phrases from the O. T., suggesting the most incongruous associations). Sometimes indeed the text is glossed so as seriously to alter the sense: thus Rev. xiv. 13, the words "That they may rest from their labours; for their works *follow with them*," are transformed, without the smallest necessity or excuse, into "There the weary are at rest; and the work of their righteousness *goeth before them*," from Job iii. 17 and Isa. lviii. 8, with a reminiscence of Isa. xxxii. 17 (מעשה הצדקה).

It cannot, indeed, be denied that freedom such as this, where it is consistent with idiom, enables a translator to

¹ נרהף moreover means *to hasten*, both in late Biblical Hebrew, and in the Midrash (Levy, *s. v.*).

secure sometimes a grace of style which is beyond the reach of one who makes fidelity his guiding principle. Thus in Matt. ii. 13^b, S. has undoubtedly the advantage over D.; but it is gained at the cost of identifying the phrase with that in *v.* 20, where the Greek is different. Similarly, Matt. xxvi. 12, יצקה is better than שפכה; but the Greek here is βαλοῦσα, a stronger word; and צק is the equivalent in *v.* 7 for κατέχευεν. So again Luke xv. 25^a, but at the expense of introducing something not expressed in the Greek. In Matt. xxviii. 7 on the contrary a word, *going*, is omitted. This may often be noticed. The question which the translator is called upon to meet is this: Within what limits is a deviation from the Greek permissible, for the sake of securing an idiomatic Hebrew sentence, free from stiffness? Possibly D. might have allowed himself rather greater liberty in this respect than he has done,¹ and have given thereby additional finish to his version; but there can be no doubt that S. has taken it much too freely, and without always gaining what was aimed at. More permissible adaptations are Matt. iii. 11 (קשנתי, cf. Gen. xxxii. 11); xii. 2 (לא תעשה,² cf. Lev. iv. 2); xxvi. 58^b (Ruth iii. 18).

But sufficient examples will have been adduced to show that an aptitude which is a merit and distinction in a trans-

¹ Phrases such as *And when he had said this, he . . .*, at the close of a speech, are not in the style of the O. T. narrative, and are difficult to reproduce in classical idiom. Luke xxiii. 46; xxiv. 40 (in both S. and D.) are indeed exact, but not elegant. Recourse must be had to a circumlocution, the nature of which will vary with the character of the passage. In these two cases we would venture to suggest ויהי ככלותו לדבר ויפח נפשו and . . . ויהי כאשר דבר את הדברים האלה. Elsewhere, כאשר כלה לדבר, construed as in Gen. xviii. 33, might be appropriate. So Matt. xii. 24 וישמעו הפרושים וישמעו אנשים מן העומדים שם (אצלו) ויאמרו; Mark xv. 35 ויאמרו (or אצלו) ויאמרו; and ויאמרו, too, in the best style, is only used in exceptional cases. In writing Hebrew, the particles require to be handled with great delicacy. Matt. xxvii. 23, כי מה עשה רעה would be both closer to the Greek and more idiomatic (1 Sam. xxix. 8; 1 Kings xi. 22; 1 Sam. xx. 10; xxvi. 18) than the rendering of either D. or S.

² D. here and in *v.* 4 has the technical expressions continually occurring in similar discussions in the Mishnah, and in this connexion more suitable.

lator of *Romeo*, may become a snare to a translator of the the New Testament.

Secondly, S. in spite of the classical style affected in it, displays serious faults of grammar. Constructions occur frequently which are unknown to the O.T.; particles are used incorrectly, and false forms are of constant occurrence.

(a.) Matt. i. 20; ix. 18. . . . עוֹד הוּא הֵם. עוֹד הוּא occurs in the O.T. and עוֹד אֲנִי once or twice in late books; but עוֹד הוּא never. The form used is always עוֹדְנִי.

iii. 7, 11 and often, אַךְ. אַךְ is restrictive, not adverbative; in S. it is continually used in the latter sense. In classical Hebrew, the contrast between two clauses in all ordinary cases, where it is not *very* marked, is sufficiently indicated by their juxtaposition with the interposed וְ. So D. here rightly.

iii. 8; x. 32; xviii. 23 and constantly, אַפּוּא. The use of this particle, again, is in S. quite unclassical. In the O.T. it is rare, and restricted to special cases (especially with an imperative, or כִּי); in S. it becomes a general particle of inference, usurping the place of לְכֵן, וְעַתָּה, or simply of וְ.

iv. 1, לְאִשֶׁר [sic]. It is difficult to conjecture what this is intended to represent.

iv. 4, וַיַּעַן הוּא. הוּא here gives a false emphasis to the Greek ὁ δέ . . .

iv. 17, מַעַת הָהוּא (cf. xvi. 21; xxvii. 15; Luke xvi. 10). The solitary Mic. vii. 11 does not justify the omission of the article before a substantive followed by הָהוּא. In Acts ii. 40; xix. 26 occur instances of the opposite error, הוּא after a proper name (see Exod. xxxii. 1).

vi. 3 b; 21; xviii. 13; Luke xviii. 4. The jussive mood in these verses is ungrammatical and expresses an incorrect sense.

vi. 20; ix. 34; xi. 22 and elsewhere, אַפֶּס is another particle of very limited use in the O.T., and not here in place.

vii. 11. The syntax of this verse defies analysis.¹

Matt. viii. 20; Mark ix. 6; Luke xxii. 2; Acts xix. 36; xxv. 27 *end*; also Matt. xxvi. 18; Luke xviii. 5; 1 Cor. x. 33. Though analogies may be cited for the use of the infinitive and ל in these passages, it is a very questionable extension of what actually occurs in the O. T., even including the peculiar constructions used by the Chronicler.

ix. 4, 11; xiii. 10; xv. 3 and repeatedly, כִּדְרֹעַ זֶה. Contrary to idiom. לְמַה זֶה is common in the O. T.; כִּדְרֹעַ זֶה occurs never. וְכִדְרֹעַ is sometimes used in a question expressing surprise.

xi. 23, וְעַמְדָּה. Where לו stands in the protasis, it is contrary to usage to introduce the apodosis by the perf. with *waw* "conversive."² D. rightly כִּי עָתָה.

xii. 4 and elsewhere, אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר for *those who*. An inelegancy which should be avoided wherever possible. See D. and 2 Sam. xvii. 12.

xii. 5, בָּמוֹ [*sic*]; Acts i. 2 בָּמוֹ. Frequent as לָמוֹ, עָלִימוֹ are—at least in *poetry*—בָּמוֹ for בָּהֶם never occurs.

xii. 10; xiii. 55; xviii. 12, 21 and constantly, הָאֵם. This occurs *twice* in the O. T.; the sense attaching to it is doubtful (see the Commentators on Job vi. 13); probably it has the force of an emphatic *num?* It is a total misuse of it to make it the ordinary term for expressing a simple interrogation.

xiii. 26; xiv. 24; xix. 28; xxiv. 10; Luke i. 10. The use of אֵן in these passages is unidiomatic, and in no way increases the distinctness of the Hebrew.

xiii. 29; xxi. 23; Luke iii. 15; xxiv. 41, 44 and elsewhere. The use of בְּעוֹד followed by the finite verb can only be characterised as barbarous.

¹ Mic. ii. 11 is an example not to be imitated.

² Contrast the classical idioms of D. (1 Kings viii. 27; Job xxv. 5 f.; also Deut. xvi. 17).

xxvi. 74, the later Heb. expression וּמִיָּד is preferable to the doubtful זֶה וּבְרָנֶע.

xxvii. 13; Acts ix. 13, עַד כְּמֹה. Unclassical.

Luke ii. 41; the frequentative וְעָלָי (see 1 Sam. i. 3) is desiderated.

ii. 49; Acts v. 15, אַחֲרִים כֹּהֵם. A questionable extension of the O. T. use of the plural of אַחַד.

ii. 62, after לֵאמֹר the *direct* narration is indispensable.

xvi. 4. A temporal *within* a final clause gives rise to an involved sentence contrary to the genius of classical Hebrew. We must vary the construction in some such way as the following: 'וְהָיָה אַחֲרַי (אֲשֶׁר) חֲדַלְתִּי מֵהָיִית סוֹכֵן וּג' לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יֵאֲסָפוּנִי אֶל בְּתֵיהֶם אַחֲרַי (אֲשֶׁר) חֲדַלְתִּי וּג'.

xvii. 22; xxiii. 28, הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים in the O. T. (except of course where וְ is *separated* from the verb) is always followed by the perfect with the so-called *waw* "conversive."

xxiii. 15; John ii. 9, מִבְּלִי followed by the infinitive is an inelegant construction which might be readily avoided.

John i. 22, אֵת שְׁלַחֲנוּ דָבָר should follow.

i. 33, אֵת before כִּי is as questionable as it is unnecessary.

Acts xx. 1, וּבְבִרְכָתוֹ אֹתָם. An impossible construction.

(b) Incorrect forms are of frequent occurrence. Some of these may indeed be mere misprints; but others recur too persistently to be explained as printer's errors. A few of those which we have noted will be found in the following verses: Matt. iii. 15; v. 19 (מִפִּיר); vi. 28 *end*; viii. 21 (three); x. 5; 14; 21 *end* (so xiv. 11*b*; xvii. 16, 17; Luke xxiii. 14, 15; Acts ii. 32; xix. 31; xx. 28; Rom. ix. 23; x. 9; Eph. i. 20; 1 Pet. i. 21—all instances of the form (הַמִּיתוֹם); xviii. 13; xxv. 7 *b* (Qal for Hifil, giving no sense); 45 and 46 (absol. for constr.); xxvii. 29; Mark ix. 9 (inf. abs. for inf. estr.; so Luke i. 10; xxi. 14; Acts xvii. 2); 27 *end*; Luke i. 21 *end*; 22; 24 *b*; 30 *b* (masc. for fem.); 45 *a* (see Eccl. x. 17); 45 *b*; 46 (*is great* for *doth magnify*); xi. 25; 53; xix. 27 *b*; 30 *b*; xxi. 14 *end*; John i. 5 *end*; 14 *end*;

48 (קרא); viii. 37 *end*; viii. 28 (אתי, *me*, an error for אתו, *him*¹); Acts ii. 31 *b*; ix. 12; xvi. 31 (ותושע); xix. 25; 26 *b* (passive for active); 27 (see Jer. ii. 24); 36; 38; xx. 31 (so xxviii. 21); xxvii. 1 (*was chastised* for *was delivered*); 3 (ביום); Rom. viii. 35. In Col. iv. 5, by a similar but, if possible, still more extraordinary error, the Apostle is made to exhort the Colossians to *sell* the time, instead of redeeming it; and in Acts i. 5, we read, not less strangely, *ye shall baptize* instead of *ye shall be baptized*.²

It may be affirmed confidently that, except through an isolated misprint, errors of punctuation and grammar, such as those which have been indicated, are not to be found in the whole of Prof. Delitzsch's version.³ Certainly both these and other faults may be rectified without any great difficulty by a qualified scholar, already familiar with the Greek; but the question forces itself upon us: What will be the impression produced upon a reader of the class for whom the translation is chiefly designed, and who may make his first acquaintance with the New Testament through a version in which they occur?

Enough will have been written for the purpose of declaring our judgment on the two works before us. We

¹ Or was the translator imitating Gen. xxx. 20?

² 1 Cor. x. 15, a word, *as*, is out of place, making the verse untranslatable. In Luke xxiii. 2, is another strange and perplexing error, which however a reader who recalls Exod. v. 5, may be able to correct.

³ The charge which has been brought against a version which, though not named, is evidently that of Prof. Delitzsch, of containing the absurd rendering, "they ill-treated him, they *beheaded* him, and sent him away ashamed" (Mark xii. 4), is unjust, and cannot be sustained. The phrase employed is borrowed from Judges v. 26, the verb מרחק occurring nowhere else in O.T. It is true that David Kimchi understands the phrase as meaning *took off his head*; but great as is the value of Kimchi's exegetical writings, he is not infallible, and is sometimes demonstrably in error. Here, as Gesenius pointed out, the meaning assigned is altogether inappropriate, and not only is there no indication in the narrative that Jael beheaded Sisera, but either a "hammer," or a "nail," would be unsuitable for the purpose. There is no reason for supposing that the phrase expresses more than *smote his head severely* which is apparently just the sense of the ἄπ. λεγ. ἐκεφαλαιῶσαν in the Gospel.

find that Salkinson's work, *in parts*, possesses high merits ; but its excellence is not sustained. Passages may be pointed to in which it is not inferior to Prof. Delitzsch's work, or which contain even a happier turn or phrase ; but far more frequently its inferiority is evident ; it is too often a torso of heterogeneous phrases, culled indiscriminately from the most dissimilar parts of the O. T., and strung together without regard to unity of style ; and it is throughout sadly disfigured by unidiomatic constructions and ungrammatical forms. In fairness to its author, it ought of course to be recollected that it did not receive his final revision. We are grateful to Mr. Salkinson for what he has done ; we are grateful to Dr. Ginsburg for the pains which he has bestowed upon the completion and publication of his friend's work. The labour spent upon it will not have been in vain. In spite of the defects which it has been our duty to point out, it contains much both to interest and instruct ; but it does not represent with accuracy the text of the New Testament, and it has no claim to supersede the version of Prof. Delitzsch.

S. R. DRIVER.

CHRISTUS CONSUMMATOR.

LESSONS FROM THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

IV. THE UNIVERSAL SOCIETY.

“Ye are come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better than *that of Abel*.”—HEB. xii. 22-24 (Rev. Ver.).

WE have seen that the solemn and consolatory lessons of the priestly service of the Old Testament, which were brought together in their highest form on the Day of

Atonement, obtained their fulfilment in the work of Christ. We have seen that Christ realised in the victorious progress of a perfect life that absolute holiness, of which ceremonial cleansings were a figure ; that He, uniting in one Person the offices of priest and victim, *through the eternal spirit, offered* the humanity which he had taken to Himself, a sacrifice well-pleasing to God upon the altar of the Cross, *not for the nation only*, but for the world ; that through the grave, and through the heavens, He bore His own blood, the virtue of His Manhood given for men, to the immediate presence of God, pleading on our behalf for ever ; that going infinitely beyond the privilege of intercession by that one entrance, He sat down as Divine King on the Father's throne, crowning the ministry of priestly compassion with the glory of universal sovereignty.

So far the types of the Day of Atonement have been fulfilled, and far more than fulfilled ; but the last scene in the august ceremonial of the day has not at present found its counterpart. Our High Priest has not yet returned from the heavenly sanctuary to reveal on earth the completeness of His work in visible triumph. Our position therefore is, in one sense, like that of the congregation of Israel gathered round the Holy Place, waiting with eager and beating hearts till their representative should come forth to bring again before their sight the fact of forgiveness and acceptance. We too are in an attitude of expectancy. *We see not yet all things subjected* to our Redeemer. Clouds and darkness are over the world which is His inheritance ; and we look for Him, in the words of the Epistle, when He *shall appear a second time apart from sin, to them that wait for Him, unto salvation.*

This, I say, is one aspect of our position. We are in an attitude of expectancy ; and in this respect it is of the utmost importance that we should keep our brightest hopes fresh, and neither dissemble the sorrows of life, nor surren-

der the least of the Divine promises. *We walk by faith, not by sight.* But the reality, the intensity, of our expectancy must not hide from us the reality of our attainment. If the appearance of Christ is future, fellowship with Him and with His people is present. *Ye are come*, the author of the Epistle writes, to men troubled by doubts, by divisions, by losses, by sufferings, as grievous as any which we have to bear, by shamelessness of triumphant vice to which Christendom offers no parallel, *Ye are come*, and not, "Ye shall come," *unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem. . . . and to Jesus the Mediator of a new covenant. . . .* He writes, I repeat, "Ye are come," and not, "Ye shall come," and no blindness, no faithlessness, can alter the fact.

The Hebrews were, as we remember, in danger of forgetting the grandeur of their privilege under the stress of temporal affliction, and so the Apostle recalls the most memorable scene in their sacred history. He contrasts the beginnings of Judaism, and the beginnings of Christianity; the character of the old kingdom of God imaged in the circumstances of its foundation, and the character of the new kingdom made clear in its spiritual glory through tribulations and chastenings, that they might see what the Gospel was not as well as what it was. *Ye are not come*, he says *unto a palpable and kindled fire, and unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words. . . .* Ye are not come, that is, like your forefathers, to an outward, earthly, elemental manifestation of the Divine Majesty, which appealed to the senses, and even where it was most intelligible and most human, struck those to whom it was given with overwhelming dread; *but ye are come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven. . . .* Ye are come, come

already, come even if God seems to hide Himself, to a Divine Presence nearer and more pervading than Moses knew, to an abiding communion realised in vital energy and not to a passing vision shown in material forces, to a revelation marked, as the Apostle goes on to show, not by threatening commands, but by means of reconciliation, inspiring not fear but love.

Now when we reflect upon the contrast, we shall be led to perceive that it could not fail to suggest thoughts of reassurance to the Hebrews. They were, it is true, shut out, irrevocably shut out, from the courts of the Temple, deprived of the friendship of those who claimed to be the children of the patriarchs and the prophets, outcasts from the visible commonwealth of God. But what then? When they lost these earthly privileges which gave a transient satisfaction to their souls, they were taught even through their grief to gain a larger vision of the Divine action and of the Divine presence; to see through the typical splendours of the vanishing sanctuary, *the city that hath the foundations*, or which every institution of earth is a partial shadow; to see about them the great cloud of witnesses who proclaim that not one aspiration of faith has ever failed of attainment; to see on the right hand of the Father—that right hand which is everywhere—Him in whom all creation finds its unity and its life, Jesus, Son of man and Son of God, accessible to each believer; to see that Christianity is not an etherialised Judaism, but its spiritual antitype; that the heavenly Jerusalem is no material locality, but the realm of eternal truth; that the Christian society is not in essence an external organization, but a manifestation of the powers of the new life.

And for us this teaching has, I think, a still wider application. The spectacle of divided and rival Churches is as sad and far vaster than the spectacle of unbelieving Israel. It is hard for us to bear the prospect of Christendom rent

into hostile fragments as it was hard for the Hebrews to bear the anathema of their countrymen. It is hard to look for peace, and to find a sword; to look for the concentration of every force of those who bear Christ's name in a common assault upon evil, and to find energies of thought and feeling and action weakened and wasted in misunderstandings, jealousies, and schisms; to look for the beauty of a visible unity of the faithful which shall strike even those who are without with reverent awe, and to find our divisions a commonplace with mocking adversaries. It is hard; and if what we see were all, the trial would be intolerable. But what we see is not all: what we see is not even the dim image of that which is. The life which we feel, the life which we share, is more than the earthly materials by which it is at present sustained, more than the earthly vestures through which it is at present manifested. That is not most real which can be touched and measured, but that which struggles, as it were, to find imperfect expression through the veil of sense: that which to the All-seeing Eye gilds with the light of self-devotion acts that to us appear self-willed and miscalculated; that which to the All-hearing Ear joins in a full harmony words that to us sound fretful and impatient; that which fills our poor dull hearts with a love and sympathy towards all the creatures of God, deeper than just hatred of sin, deeper than right condemnation of error, deeper than the circumstances of birth and place and temperament which kindle the friendships and sharpen the animosities of human intercourse.

Yes, the unseen and the eternal is for all of us who confess Christ come, Christ coming in flesh, the ruling thought of life. To us also the words are spoken—*Ye are come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven; and to the God of all as Judge,*

and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling which speaketh better than that of Abel.

Ye are come, that is, come though your way seems to be barred by inevitable obstacles, though your prospect seems to be closed by impenetrable gloom, to a scene of worship and a company of fellow-worshippers which no eye hath seen nor can see; ye are come to powers of the spiritual order which are able to bring assurance in the midst of the confusions, the uncertainties, the failures, by which you are wearied and perplexed; ye are come, in a word, to a "dispensation," not earthly but heavenly, to a dispensation, not of terror but of grace.

Each of these two characteristics of the Divine order to which we are admitted, that it is heavenly, and that it is gracious, has for us, as for the Hebrews, a message of encouragement.

If the outward were the measure of the Church of Christ, we might, as we have seen, well despair. But side by side with us, when we fondly think, like Elijah, that we stand alone, are countless multitudes whom we know not, angels whom we have no power to discern, children of God whom we have not learnt to recognise. We have come to the kingdom of God, peopled with armies of angels and men working for us and with us because they are working for Him. And though we cannot grasp the fulness of the truth, and free ourselves from the fetters of sense, yet we can, in the light of the Incarnation, feel the fact of this unseen fellowship; we can feel that heaven has been reopened to us by Christ; that the hosts who were separated from Israel at Sinai by the fire and the darkness are now joined with us under our Saviour King, *ascending and descending upon the Son of man*; that no external tests are final in spiritual things; that while we are separated one from another by barriers which we dare not overpass, by

differences of opinion which we dare not conceal or extenuate, there still may be a deeper-lying bond in *righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*, the apostolic notes of the kingdom of God, which nothing that is of earth can for ever overpower.

Such convictions are sufficient to bring a calm to the believer in the sad conflicts of a restless age, widely different from the blind complacency which is able to forget the larger sorrows of the world in the confidence of selfish security, and from the superficial indifference which regards diversities as trivial which for good or evil modify the temporal workings of faith. They enable us to preserve a true balance between the elements of our life. They teach us to maintain the grave, if limited, issues of the forms in which men receive the truth, and to vindicate for the Spirit perfect freedom and absolute sovereignty. They guard us from that deceitful impatience which is eager to anticipate the last results of the discipline of the world and gain outward unity by compromise, which is hasty to abandon treasures of our inheritance because we have forgotten or misunderstood their use. They inspire us with the ennobling hope that in the wisdom of God we shall become one, not by narrowing and defining the Faith which is committed to us, but by rising, through the help of the Spirit, to a worthier sense of its immeasurable grandeur.

And yet more than this: they quicken our common life with a vital apprehension of the powers of the unseen order; they break the tyranny of a one-sided materialism; they proclaim that a belief in natural law is essentially a belief in a present God; they take possession of a region of being which answers to the capacities of the soul; they encourage us to bring our ordinary thoughts and feelings into the light of our eternal destiny, and add to them that idea of incalculable issues which must belong to all that is human.

At the same time there is an element of awe in this revelation of the fulness of spiritual force active about us, of this association with invisible fellow-workers, of this communion with Him who *is a consuming fire*. And the writer of the Epistle does not shrink from dwelling on the sterner aspect of his teaching. He insists on the heavier responsibility which attaches to those who have larger knowledge. He calls for the exertion, the courage, the thoughtful endurance, the watchful purity, which correspond with the truths that he has laid open.

Life indeed is filled with awe. Its solemnity grows upon us. We may wish to remain children always, but we cannot. And here the Gospel meets the fears which spring out of the larger vision of our state. It is heavenly and it is gracious too. We have come not only to an order glorious with spiritual realities, but also to an order rich in provisions of mercy: *to the God of all as Judge, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling which speaketh better than that of Abel*. The words teach us to look backward and to look forward, and to draw from the past and from the present the inspiration of faith. We look to those whose work is over, we see that judgment is a deliverance for surrendered souls, and that the work of Christ has brought perfection to His servants through the sufferings of earth. We look to those who are still pressed in the fight, and we see with them Jesus the Son of man, showing in His own Person that God is their support, and applying to each the virtue of His life.

Once again then we are brought to Him, when our thoughts are turned to the widest mysteries of life. When we behold the depths of heaven opened about us, and the veil lifted from the living fulness of earth, He stands before our face—stands as He appeared to His first martyr—to

welcome those who follow Him in hope within the sanctuary of the Divine Presence.

Once again He is revealed to us as bringing the help which we need in view of the questions which are forced upon us by the circumstances in which we are placed. We have seen already that He has transfigured suffering by showing that it is through suffering humanity is perfected. We have seen that He has consecrated a new and living way for us to God, by bearing our manhood to the throne of heaven. We see now that, when we regard the innumerable forms of being which crowd the spiritual temple, He is with us still, to assure us that there is a place for us in that august company and to prepare us for taking it.

Once again He is revealed to us as communicating to His people of His own glory for the accomplishment of their destiny. He is the Firstborn, and He gathers round Him *a Church of the firstborn*, in which Divine family each member shares the highest privilege. "Cum pluribus," wrote an early commentator from the solitude of his French convent, "major erit beatitudo; ubi unusquisque de alio gaudebit sicut de seipso." Yes: "The bliss will be greater when more share it. In heaven each one will rejoice for his fellow as for himself."

Once again He is revealed to us as the Fulfiller—*Christus Consummator*—gathering into one and reconciling all things by the will of God.

And let no one think that such a revelation is fitted only to fill the fancy with splendid dreams. It is, I believe, intensely practical. He who leaves the unseen out of account deals as it were with a soulless world, with a mechanical structure of matter and force. But for the Christian all is law, and life, and love. He has *come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the firstborn who are*

enrolled in heaven . . . and to Jesus the Mediator of a new covenant. . . .

For him the wilderness, desolate to the bodily eye, is thronged with joyous ministers of God's will. For him no differences of earth can destroy the sense of kindred which springs from a common spiritual destiny.

What then, we are constrained to ask, is this revelation, what are these facts to us? Do they not meet the loneliness which has depressed us, the weakness which has often marred our efforts?

It must be so if God, in His love, open our eyes to behold the armies of light by which we are encircled; if He open our hearts to feel the strength of fellowship with every citizen of His kingdom.

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT.

RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GENESIS.

It would be a strange phenomenon in the intellectual life of our time that some of our ablest men should be found contending earnestly as to the meaning and validity of a document so old as the proem to Genesis, were it not that, as Mr. Gladstone has so well put the matter,¹ this constitutes the opening section of a book in which is conveyed special knowledge to meet "the special need everywhere so palpable in the state and history of our race." In face of this special need it is true that questions of cosmogony, or of the origin of the lower animals, become small and unimportant. Yet these bulk more largely in our estimation when we find them to be subsidiary in even a small measure to the greater questions that relate to the early

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1886.

history and destiny of man. The present writer is not a theologian, or a divine, but simply a naturalist, whose specialities have lain in some departments of palæontology, and who has studied the Hebrew sacred writings partly as a means of knowing something of Semitic language and literature, and partly because of their practical connexion with Christianity. He has consequently been led to regard these ancient writings and the modern historical criticisms applied to them, as well as their relations to natural science, somewhat differently from the aspect in which they are ordinarily presented, and to compare them more closely than is usual with scientific and philosophical ideas at present prevalent.

At the outset it would seem that reasonable men should attach very little importance, except under considerable limitations, to the conclusions of those schools of criticism which regard the Pentateuch as of late date, and as made up of several documents. The earlier parts of Genesis, with which we are at present concerned, are undoubtedly intensely archaic in their style and manner, even in comparison with most of the other Hebrew books. They are not specially Palestinian and local, but have features in common with the earliest fragments of Chaldean and Egyptian literature. They have no special reference to the institutions of the Hebrew commonwealth, and have a simplicity in their subjects, and the mode of treating them, which speaks of the dawn of civilization. There is nothing in their texture to prevent them from being even more ancient than the time of Moses, and belonging to a period before the Hebrew race had separated from the main Turanian and Semitic stocks. The probability of this is strengthened by their connexion as to the matter of their statements with the primitive Chaldean documents recently discovered, and even with the remnants of the creation myths of American races.

These statements apply to the so-called Jahvist as well as to the Elohist portions of Genesis. Indeed, as Schrader has shown, in some instances, as in the history of the Flood, the Jahvist portion is nearer to the ancient Chaldean legend than the Elohist passages, and therefore if there is any difference, is apparently older.¹ The attempt to separate these old records into distinct documents, even if it were not greatly discredited by the extreme differences of its upholders among themselves, does not commend itself to a scientific student. We are familiar in palæontology with animals and plants of very generalized structure, but instead of regarding this as evidence that they are composite creatures artificially put together, we rather consider it as proving their primitive and unspecialized character. The oldest air-breathing vertebrates known to us are certain reptilian or semi-reptilian creatures of the Carboniferous age, to which the almost Homeric name of *Stegocéphala* has been given. Now if I find that one of these animals has a head resembling that of a frog, vertebræ like those of a fish, and scales and limbs resembling those of a lizard, I do not separate these into distinct portions and place them in separate cases of my collection, and invent an hypothesis that they are of different ages. I recognise in the apparently composite and undifferentiated character of the remains, evidence that they belong to a very primitive animal. I believe this is the really scientific view to take of the Pentateuch, except in so far as it is probable that the earlier portions of it consist of old records of the Abramidæ existing anterior to the Exodus. In any case we must regard the first chapter of Genesis as one homogeneous document, and the evidence as to its age will develop itself as we proceed.

¹ The Book of Genesis undoubtedly represents the name Jahveh as in use in antediluvian times (Gen. iv. 1 and iv. 26). And the statement of Réville, that Exodus vi. 2, 3, contradicts this, is altogether superficial and inaccurate, as might easily be shown were there time to state the arguments in the case.

A second point on which I would insist, as essential to the interpretation of Genesis i. is, that its writer intended, and his successors in Hebrew literature understood, that the creative days are days of God, or Divine ages—*Olamim* as they are elsewhere called—or, which amounts to the same thing, that they represent such periods of time. It may be worth while shortly to mention the evidence of this, as I find it is doubted or denied by Huxley and Réville.¹ The writer of Genesis i. obviously sees no incongruity in those early days which passed before there were any arrangements for natural days; “dies ineffabiles,” as Augustine calls them; nor in the fact that the day in which the Creator rests goes on until now without any termination; nor in the statement that the whole work could be comprehended in one day, “the day when Jahveh-Elohim made the earth and the heavens;” and if this be called later and Jahvistic, it will have the additional value of being the comment of an editor who may be supposed to have understood the documents he had to do with.

If we are to attribute the decalogue to a later period than Genesis, which even M. Réville seems to admit, the argument is rendered conclusive by the position of the fourth commandment in the midst of the “ten words,” and by the reason attached to it, the whole of which would otherwise be inexplicable and even trifling.² A later writer, in the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. iv.), explains this. When God entered into His rest He gave that rest also as an immortal rest to man in Eden. But man fell and lost the perpetual or olamic sabbatism. There remained to him in the weekly sabbath a memento of the lost rest and an anticipation of its recovery by a Redeemer in the future.

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1885, and January, 1886.

² Réville's commentary on this and on the “Firmament,” in the *Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1886, is remarkable as coming from a man who should have at least a popular notion of the contents of the Bible.

Hence the Sabbath was not only the central point of the moral law, but of all religion, the pledge and the commemoration of the Divine promise, and the means of keeping it before men's minds from age to age till the promised Redeemer should come. It is this that causes the Sabbath to be insisted on as the most essential point of religion by the Hebrew prophets, and this is the reason of its connexion with the days of creation. This also caused the necessity of its change by Christians to the Lord's Day without any new enactment, for on this day Christ arose to enter on His sabbatism "as God did into His." The Lord's Day now has the same significance to Christians as the type of the rest into which the Saviour has entered, and which has continued for 1800 years, and of that eternal Sabbath which remains to the people of God. In truth, independently of all considerations of cosmogony, the long seventh day of Creation and the long heavenly rest of the Saviour constitute the only valid reasons either for the Jewish or Christian Sabbath. That Jesus Himself held this view we learn from His answer to the Pharisees who accused Him of breaking the Sabbath. "My Father worketh until now and I work."¹ That the apostolic Church had the same view of the creative days and the Creator's rest we learn from the Pauline use of the words *aiōn* and *aiōnios* with reference to God's ages of working, and from the passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews already referred to.²

The creative days are the "antiquities of the earth" spoken of in Proverbs viii. They are the *Olamim* or ages noticed as equal to God's creative days in Psalm xc., for which even the Revised Version retains the unmeaning "from everlasting to everlasting." This Psalm too is a

¹ John v. 17 (Revised Version).

² 1 Cor. ii. 7; Eph. iii. 9; 1 Tim. i. 17; John i. 2, etc.; Heb. i. 2; iv. 4 to 12. In some of these passages the sense is obscured in our version by the use of the term "world," which is an incorrect translation unless understood in the sense of *time-worlds*.

very archaic one, resembling in its diction the songs attributed to Moses in Deuteronomy. Psalm civ. is a poetical version of Genesis i., and in it the work marches on in slow and solemn grandeur without any reference to days. Again there is not anywhere in the Bible a hint that the work of creation was remarkable as being done in a short time. Some of us have no doubt been taught in childhood that God's power was wonderfully shown by His creating the world in the short space of six days, but there is nothing of this in the Old or New Testament.

Lastly, the idea of long prehuman periods exists in nearly all the traditions of ancient nations, and is contained in the Chaldean record, though it wants the division into days. Yet the Chaldeans had a week of seven days, and regarded the seventh as unlucky with reference to work, and as a day of rest.

I have insisted on this point, because though essential to the understanding of the record, it has been so much overlooked in popular religious teaching that even men of education may be excused for ignorance of it.

I propose now, without waiting to examine the physical cosmogony of the earlier days of creation, to notice shortly the actual statements of the author of Genesis respecting the introduction of plants and animals, taking these statements in their most literal sense.

Here at the outset we are met by an apparent discrepancy between the record in Genesis and what we have learned of the history of creation from the study of the earth's crust. Our author informs us that vegetation was introduced on the day preceding the final arrangements of the solar system, and two days before the inswarming of animals on the fifth day. This vegetation also included the higher kinds of plants, for while it was first *Deshe*, or seedless plants (not grass as in the Authorized Version), it also contained herbs bearing seed, and trees bearing fruit. In

so far as geological discovery has yet reached into the older layers of the earth's crust, it has found abundant remains of animals as low as the Lower Cambrian; but below this there is a vast thickness of both crystalline and fragmental rock, in which Eozoon of the Laurentian stands out as the sole representative of animal life; and its claim to be an animal is still in question. But land plants are not known to reach so far back. None are known so old as the Lower Cambrian, so that marine animals, and probably marine plants, appear to have existed long before land plants. Yet the geologist cannot safely deny the existence of land vegetation even in the old Laurentian period. We know that there was land at that time; and in the middle of the Laurentian series, there exist in Canada immense bedded deposits of carbon, in the form of graphite and of ores of iron, which cannot be accounted for on any known principles of chemical geology, except by supposing the existence of abundant vegetation. It is true that Eozoon exists in these beds, but it is in any case a mere precursor or foreshadowing of animal life, while the quantity of Laurentian carbon which it would seem must owe its accumulation to the deoxidising agency of plants, is enormous. Whether we shall ever find Laurentian rocks in a condition to yield up the actual forms and structures of this old vegetation is uncertain; but we know, as certainly as we can know anything inferentially, that it existed. Of its character and quality we have no information except the record in Genesis. If it was given to the primitive prophet of creation to see in his vision the forms of Laurentian vegetation, he saw what no geologist has yet seen, but what some geologist of the future may possibly see. In any case, he has to thank the discoveries of Sir William Logan and his *confrères* in Canada, for establishing at least a probability on scientific grounds that he was right; and until these discoveries were made, the fact of pre-Cambrian vegetation rested on his sole

authority. It may be said that such vegetation would be useless; but the same remark may be made as to the lower animals which existed so long before man, or as to the exuberant vegetation of some oceanic islands untenanted by the higher animals.

In the geological record the lower animals swarm upon the stage in countless multitudes and vast variety of form and organization, in the Cambrian age; and it is on this, and the subsequent succession of life, that discussion has centred in the recent controversies. Here, fortunately, we have ample material for comparison of the two records, and if they do not agree, it is here that their divergence must appear. But to give fair play to the old historian, it will be necessary to examine his method and to weigh well his words.

The method of the writer of Genesis in describing the work of the fifth and sixth days is similar to that employed in reference to the previous periods, but in some respects more complex, as befits the higher theme. He states first the Divine purpose or decree under the formula "God said"; next the actual production of the objects intended—"God created"; next the contemplation of the work and its subsequent development—"God saw." Let us put down these stages in order, as given for the fifth day.

(1) "God said, 'Let the waters swarm swarmers having life (animal life), and let fowl¹ fly over the earth on the surface of the expanse of heaven.'"

(2) "God created great reptiles,² and every living moving animal with which the waters swarmed after their kind, and every winged animal after its kind."

(3) "God saw that it was good, and God blessed them, saying, 'Be fruitful and multiply and fill the waters of the sea, and let fowl multiply in the earth.'"

This is, I think, a sufficiently literal rendering of the

¹ Used in old sense of flying animal.

² *Tanninim*, that is crocodiles.

record as it stands in the Hebrew text, so far as the English tongue suffices to represent its words; but some of these terms require consideration. The word *sheretz* used for the first group of creatures, literally "swarmers" or swarming animals, is precisely defined in the law respecting animal food in Leviticus xi. There it is used as a comprehensive term, to include all the lower animals of the waters with the fishes and batrachians, as well as certain animals of the land, viz. the land snails, insects, spiders and scorpions, along with small reptiles, and perhaps, though this last is not quite certain, some small quadrupeds usually regarded as vermin. The precise definition given in the law respecting unclean animals leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the word. We thus learn that the creation of the fifth day included all the marine invertebrates, and the fishes and batrachians, with the insects and their allies, or at least all such as could be held to be produced from the waters. The link of connexion which binds all these creatures under this comprehensive word is their teeming oviparous reproduction, which entitles them to be called swarming animals, in connexion with their habitat or origin in the waters. Thus this one word covers all the animals known in the Palæozoic and Mesozoic periods of geology, with three notable exceptions—the birds, the true reptiles, and the marsupial mammals. But singularly, and as if to complete his record, this old narrator adds two of these groups, as if they had specially attracted his attention. The word *Oph*, "fowl, bird, or winged animal," is the usual word for birds in general, though in Leviticus it includes the winged insects, and the bats, which are winged mammals. As it is a very primitive and widely diffused word, and probably onomatopoetic and derived from the sound of wings, it may in early times have served to denote all things that fly, though applied to birds chiefly. The second group specially singled out is designated by the word *Tannin*, which, like

oph, is a very old and generally diffused word,¹ denoting primitively any animal long and extended. In the Hebrew Bible it is, however, used in almost every place where it occurs, either for the crocodile² or for the larger serpents. In Exod. vii. 9, the next place where it appears, it represents the great serpent produced from the rod of Moses. There is no warrant for the rendering "great whales," borrowed from the Septuagint, and still less for the "great sea monsters" of the Revised Version.³ If we ask what animals the writer can have meant by *tanninim*, the answer must be either crocodiles or large serpents or creatures resembling them. Thus our author does not, as both Mr. Gladstone and Prof. Huxley seem to suppose, overlook altogether the "age of reptiles." There are, however, known to us in the Mesozoic period a few small marsupial mammals, humble and insignificant precursors of the age of mammalia. These our author has apparently overlooked; but he has an excuse for this in the fact that such creatures do not occur in modern times, except in Australia or America, and even if known to him, he had no special word by which they could be designated.

Even with the above deduction, it must be confessed that this history of the fifth creative day presents a marvellous approximation to the two earlier periods of animal life as known to geologists, the ages of invertebrates and fishes and the age of reptiles. With the above explanation, which is in no respect forced, but quite literal, I think Prof. Huxley should be ready frankly to accept this, and all the

¹ Sansc., *Tan*; Greek, *Teino*; Latin, *Tendo*, etc.

² See, for example, Ezek. xxix. 3 and xxxii. 2. Jeremiah compares the king of Babylon to a *Tannin*, and may refer to a Euphratean crocodile, now apparently extinct (Jer. li. 34).

³ The word is usually rendered in the Sept. *Drakōn*; but another word, *Tan*, a name apparently of the jackal, has been confounded with it in that version. When the later Hebrew writers had occasion to refer to the whales, they used the word *Leviathan*, though in earlier writers this also is applied to the crocodile. Compare Ps. civ. 26 and Job xli.

more that he has been specially distinguished for the advocacy of views of animal classification akin to those of Genesis. No one has more insisted on the affinity of the batrachians with the fishes and that of the birds with the true reptiles. In like manner this ancient writer, if he had the batrachians before his mind, includes them with the fishes, and singles out the birds and the higher reptiles as companion groups, at the summit of the animal kingdom in their day. It may be somewhat unfair to test so popular and general a statement by such details; but if an author who lived so long before the dawn of modern science is to be tested at all by our present systems, it is proper at least to give him the benefit of the consummate skill which he shows in avoiding all inaccuracy in the few bold touches with which he sketches the introduction of animal life.

The argument in favour of the writer of Genesis might perhaps be closed here, without fear as to the verdict of reasonable men. But there is a positive side as well as a negative to this vindication, and we must not rest content with a bare verdict of "Not guilty," lest we should fall into the condemnation of being mere "reconcilers." Our ancient author has something to say respecting that formidable word evolution so constantly ringing in our ears, and which Prof. Huxley affirms is opposed to Genesis, while Mr. Gladstone somewhat hesitatingly believes in its consistency at least with the argument of design. With reference to the origin and becoming of things, legitimate science is conversant with two ideas, that of causation and that of development. Causation may either be primary as proceeding from a creative will, or secondary as referring to natural laws and energies. Development may be direct, as in that of a chick from the egg, or indirect, as in the production of varieties of animals by human agency. Now it so happens that by the school of Spencer and Darwin

the word evolution is used as covering all these kinds of causation and development; and by what Mr. Gladstone calls a "fallacy of substitution," or what I have elsewhere termed a scientific sleight-of-hand or jugglery, we are carried from one to the other almost without perceiving it, until we can scarcely distinguish between a causal evolution, which is a mere figure of speech, and a modal evolution, which may be an actual process going on under ascertained laws and known forces. So difficult has the discrimination of these things become, that it is a serious question whether sober men of science should not discard altogether the term evolution, and insist on the use of causation and development each in its proper place.

These questions were living issues in the time when Genesis was written. It was then a grave question whether one God had made all things, or whether they had arisen spontaneously, or were the work of a conflicting pantheon of deities. How does our ancient authority stand in relation to this great question? He recognises causation in the one creative will—"God said," "God created;" and thereby affirms a first cause and the unity of nature. Secondary causes he also notices in the agency of the waters, the atmosphere and the land, and in the law of continuity implied in the words "after their species." Development he sees in one form in the progress of the creative plan, in another in the power of fruitfulness and multiplication. Yet these several ideas are distinctly and clearly defined in his mind, and each is kept in its proper place relatively to the end which he has in view. It is not too much to say, that any plain man reading and pondering these statements may obtain clearer and more correct views as to the origin and history of animal life, than it would be possible to reach by any amount of study of our modern popular evolutionary philosophy. How did this ancient

writer escape the mental confusion which clouds the minds of so many clever men in our time? It may be said it was because he knew less of scientific detail, but possibly he had a higher source of enlightenment.

It is also interesting to note the strangely unerring instinct with which he seizes the relative importance of different kinds of creative work. He had selected the word *Bara*, "create,"¹ to express the most absolute and original kind of making in the production of the materials of the heavens and the earth. He is content with the less emphatic *Asa*, "made," when he speaks of the expanse, the great lights and even the later animals. But he signalises the first appearance of animal life by a repetition of "create," as if to affirm the great gulf which we know separates the animal from dead matter. In like manner he repeats this great word when he has to deal with the new fact of the rational and moral nature of man. Should man ever be able to produce a new living animal from dead matter, or should the spontaneous development of the higher nature of man from the instinct of the brute become a proved fact of science, we may doubt his wisdom in the selection of terms, but not till then.

Observe also how, without in the least derogating from this idea of creation, in the words, "God said, Let the waters swarm swarming animals, after their kinds" he combines the primary Almighty fiat with the prepared environment and its material and laws, the reproductive power and the unity and diversity of type. Here again he proves himself not only a terse writer but an accurate, and, may we not add, scientific thinker.

I have left little space for the consideration of the Sixth day, but what has been already said will render less com-

¹ This statement is sufficient to vindicate the translation "create," for *Bara*, but it could be confirmed, if necessary, by citing every passage in which the word occurs in the Hebrew books, whether in literal or figurative applications.

ment necessary. Here the statement is longer, as befits the introduction of man, and the day is divided into two separate portions, in each of which occurs the threefold fiat, act and development. It is interesting in this connexion to note that while man is introduced in the same creative day with the higher animals nearest to him in structure, his greater importance is recognised by giving him a distinct half-day to himself.

The land is here commanded to bring forth its special animals, but these are no longer *sherätzim*, birds and reptiles, but the mammalian quadrupeds. The three terms used to denote these creatures are translated even in the Revised Version by the notably incorrect words—"cattle, creeping things and beasts of the earth." It requires no special scholarship, but only the industry to use a Hebrew concordance, to discover the simple and familiar use of these words in the Old Testament. *Behemah*, though including "cattle," is a general name for all the larger herbivorous quadrupeds, and in Job the hippopotamus is characterised as the chief of the group. These animals appropriately take the lead as culminating first in the age of mammals, which is also the geological fact. *Remes*, "creeping things," is applied in a very indiscriminate way to all small quadrupeds, whether mammalian or reptilian, and may here be taken to represent the smaller quadrupeds of the land. The compound word *Haytho-eretz*, "beast of the land," though very general in sense, is employed everywhere to designate what we would call "wild beasts," and especially the larger carnivora. This first half of the sixth day is therefore occupied in the introduction of the mammalia of the land. This completes the animal population of the world with the exception of the whales and their allies, which strangely are not included in the narrative. Perhaps it was this apparent omission that induced the Septuagint translators to insert these marine mammals instead of the

crocodile as a representative of the *tanninim*.¹ The omission has, however, a curious significance, in connexion with the probability that this creation document originated before the removal of men from their primitive abodes in interior Asia, and when the whales, as well as the marsupial mammals already referred to, must have been unknown to them. That the Septuagint translators, living on the borders of the Mediterranean, should regard the omission of whales as a defect in the record was most natural; but if the original narrator and his audience were inland people, dwelling perhaps in the plain of Shinar, they may have been ignorant of whales or of any name for such creatures, and it is in such a case as this that we may legitimately apply the doctrine, that the Bible was not intended to teach science.

It is remarkable that the animals of the sixth day are said to have been "made," not created, as if after the first peopling of the world with lower creatures, the introduction of the higher forms of life was an easier process. The modern evolutionist may take this much of comfort from our ancient authority.

The second half of the work of the sixth day, though the more important, has not entered into the controversies which have prompted this article. Its distinctive features may be shortly stated as follows. Man was "created," and this in the image and likeness of God, and with godlike power in subduing the earth and in ruling its animal inhabitants, among which, however, in accordance with an intimation in the special record of man in the second chapter, the "wild beasts" are not included. Thus the

¹ The use made of this mistranslation by Prof. Huxley in his argument is almost ludicrous in its perversity. There is a passage in the Authorised Version of the Bible which seems to give countenance to the mammalian idea of this word: "Even the sea monsters draw out the breast" (Lam. iv. 3). But the correct reading here is understood to be not *tannin*, but *tanim*, "jackals," instead of "sea monsters," and the word is so rendered in the Revised Version.

rational and moral elevation of man on a plane higher than that of the animal kingdom is recognised, and he is made the vicegerent of God on the earth. A certain limitation as to food is also imposed upon him. He is not to be carnivorous, but to subsist on the better and more nutritious kinds of vegetable food—seeds and fruits. These intimations all point to a direct relation of man to his Maker and to a supremacy over the lower creatures, conditions which are more fully specified, in perfect harmony with the earlier statements, in the more detailed account of man and his relations to God and external nature in the sequel of the book (chaps. ii. etc.).

It may be well here to notice the essential differences between the Hebrew and the Chaldean Genesis, or the fragments of the latter which remain. Unfortunately we have only as yet a passage in which “the gods in their assembly created” living creatures, and these living creatures are specified as “animals of the field, great beasts of the field, and creeping things.” So far as this goes, it would seem to indicate a classification of animals like that in Genesis, but a polytheistic belief as to their creation. This polytheistic element is indeed the distinctive feature of the Chaldean record, and raises questions as to the relative ages and religious tendencies of the documents. With respect to the former, it seems certain that the originals of the Nineveh tablets may have been very ancient. They are, however, so mixed up with the history of a Chaldean hero, known as Isdubar, as to give reason for the supposition that there may have been still older creation legends. Again, is it true, as many seem to suppose, that polytheism is older than monotheism? Is it not likely that the simpler belief is older than the more complex; that which required no priests’ ritual or temple, older than that with which all these things were necessarily associated? Further, there is no example of any polytheistic people, spontaneously and without some

impulse from abroad, laying aside its many gods. On the contrary, the Jewish history shows us how easy it is to lapse into polytheism, and we have seen how, in comparatively modern times, the simplicity of primitive Christianity has grown into a complex pantheon of saints. These considerations would entitle the Hebrew record to the earliest place among all the religious traditions of our race, and render still more remarkable its clear, consistent and natural statements.

With respect to the tendencies of the two documents, it is certain that the Hebrew Genesis is in every way to be preferred. It avoids all the superstitions certain to result from breaking up the unity of nature and deifying its powers, and cuts away the roots of every form of debasing nature-worship. In its doctrine of creative unity and of developed plan, it lays a secure basis for science, while it leaves the way open for all legitimate study of nature. These are great merits which science should ever be ready to acknowledge. It is in this grand general tendency of the Biblical record that the real relations of revelation and science are to be found; and if it is necessary to enter more into detail, this is not for the sake of a so-called "reconciliation," which must necessarily be incomplete, though on the supposition of a real revelation and a true science, ever improving in exactness; but merely because imperfect views of revelation and of nature have been raising up apparent contradictions which do not exist, and which may tend alike to the injury of science and religion.

With reference to the religious aspect of the question, one cannot better illustrate this than by turning to the beautiful passage quoted by Prof. Huxley from the prophet Micah: "What does Jehovah require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Micah's religion, it is to be observed, begins and ends with God, and his God is not the God of the

agnostic who cannot be known; nor the god of the mere pantheist, everywhere and yet nowhere; nor one of the many gods of the polytheist. His God is the Almighty Personal Will, the Creator of heaven and earth, a God who reveals Himself and "requires" something at our hands, and Micah himself is a prophet who affirms that the "word of Jehovah came" to him, giving this very precept. Further, He is a God who Himself loves both justice and mercy, and who invites His fallen children to "walk" with Him, but "humbly," as befits a redeemed people. Such a religion requires an intelligent knowledge of God, and to be intelligent it must be founded on just such teaching as that of the first chapter of Genesis. Such was the religion of Job, who though a good man, doing justly and loving mercy, yet fancied himself a very deserving person, until God showed him his littleness and infirmity, by referring him to His own great creative works in physical and animal nature; and then Job humbles himself, and "repents in dust and ashes." Such was the religion of Paul, when he mildly reproves the people of Athens for being "somewhat superstitious" in adding to their many gods an altar to the "Unknown God," and points them to "the God that made the world and all things therein." There may be a superstitious or sentimental or emotional religion, without such knowledge of God, but there cannot be a rational religion without that belief in a Creator, which is expressed in the words "God created the heavens and the earth," and there cannot be a saving religion without the belief in a Redeemer fulfilling God's old promise in Genesis, that "the seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent."

J. WM. DAWSON.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

XV.

WARNINGS AGAINST TWIN CHIEF ERRORS, BASED UPON
PREVIOUS POSITIVE TEACHING.

“Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day: which are a shadow of the things to come; but the body is Christ's. Let no man rob you of your prize by a voluntary humility and worshipping of the angels, dwelling in the things which he hath seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding fast the Head, from whom all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and bands, increaseth with the increase of God.”—Col. ii. 16-19 (Rev. Ver.).

“LET no man *therefore* judge you.” That “therefore” sends us back to what the Apostle has been saying in the previous verses, in order to find there the ground of these earnest warnings. That ground is the whole of the foregoing exposition of the Christian relation to Christ, as far back as verse 9, but especially the great truths contained in the immediately preceding verses, that the cross of Christ is the death of law, and God's triumph over all the powers of evil. Because it is so, the Colossian Christians are exhorted to claim and use their emancipation from both. Thus we have here the very heart and centre of the practical counsels of the Epistle—the double blasts of the trumpet warning against the two most pressing dangers besetting the Church. They are the same two which we have often met already—on the one hand, a narrow Judaising enforcement of ceremonial and punctilios of outward observance; on the other hand, a dreamy Oriental absorption in imaginations of a crowd of angelic mediators obscuring the one gracious presence of Christ our Intercessor.

I. Here then we have first, the claim for Christian liberty, with the great truth on which it is built.

The points in regard to which that liberty is to be exer-

cised are specified. They are no doubt those, in addition to circumcision, which were principally in question then and there. "Meat and drink" refers to restrictions in diet, such as the prohibition of "unclean" things in the Mosaic law, and the question of the lawfulness of eating meat offered to idols; perhaps also, such as the Nazarite vow. There were few regulations as to "drink" in Judaism, so that probably other ascetic practices besides the Mosaic regulations were in question, but these must have been unimportant, else Paul could not have spoken of the whole as being a "shadow of things to come." The other class of outward observances is that of the sacred seasons of Judaism, the annual festivals, the monthly feast of the new moon, the weekly Sabbath.

The relation of the Gentile converts to these and the other observances of Judaism was an all-important question for the early Church. It was really the question whether Christianity was to be more than a Jewish sect—and the main force which, under God, settled the contest, was the vehemence and logic of the Apostle Paul.

Here he lays down the ground on which that whole question about diet and days, and all such matters, is to be settled. They "are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ." "Coming events cast their shadows *before*." That great work of Divine love, the mission of Christ, whose "goings forth have been from everlasting," may be thought of as having set out from the Throne as soon as time was, travelling in the greatness of its strength, like the beams of some far-off star that have not yet reached a dark world. The light from the Throne is behind Him as He advances across the centuries, and the shadow is thrown far in front.

Now that involves two thoughts about the Mosaic law and whole system. First, the purely prophetic and symbolic character of the Old Testament order, and especially

of the Old Testament worship. The absurd extravagance of many attempts to "spiritualize" the ritual and ceremonies of Judaism should not blind us to the truth which they caricature. Nor, on the other hand, should we be so taken with new attempts to reconstruct our notions of Jewish history and the dates of Old Testament books, as to forget that, though the New Testament is committed to no theory on these points, it is committed to the Divine origin and prophetic purpose of the Mosaic law and Levitical worship. We should thankfully accept all teaching which free criticism and scholarship can give us as to the process by which, and the time when, that great symbolic system of acted prophecy was built up; but we shall be further away than ever from understanding the Old Testament if we have gained critical knowledge of its genesis, and have lost the belief that its symbols were given by God to prophesy of His Son. That is the key to both Testaments; and I cannot but believe that the uncritical reader who reads his book of the law and the prophets with that conviction, has got nearer the very marrow of the book, than the critic, if he have parted with it, can ever come.

Sacrifice, altar, priest, temple spake of Him. The distinctions of meats were meant, among other purposes, to familiarize men with the conceptions of purity and impurity, and so, by stimulating conscience, to wake the sense of need of a Purifier. The feasts of the Passover, and the others, set forth various aspects of the great work which Christ does, and the Sabbath showed in outward form the rest into which He leads those who cease from their own works and wear His yoke. All these observances, and the whole system to which they belong, are like outriders who precede a prince on his progress, and as they gallop through sleeping villages, rouse them with the cry, "The king is coming!"

And when the King *has* come, where are the heralds? and when the reality has come, who wants symbols? and if that which threw the shadow forwards through the ages has arrived, how shall the shadow be visible too? Therefore the second principle here laid down, namely the cessation of all these observances, and their like, is really involved in the first, namely their prophetic character.

The practical conclusion drawn is very noteworthy, because it seems much narrower than the premises warrant. Paul does not say—therefore let no man observe any of these any more; but takes up the much more modest ground—let no man *judge* you about them. He claims a wide liberty of variation, and all that he repels is the right of anybody to dragoon Christian men into ceremonial observances on the ground that they are necessary. He does not quarrel with the rites, but with men insisting on the necessity of the rites.

In his own practice he gave the best commentary on his meaning. When they said to him, “You *must* circumcise Titus,” he said; “Then I will not.” When nobody tried to compel him, he took Timothy, and of his own accord circumcised him to avoid scandals. When it was needful as a protest, he rode right over all the prescriptions of the law, and “did eat with Gentiles.” When it was advisable as a demonstration that he himself “walked orderly and kept the law,” he performed the rites of purification and united in the temple worship.

In times of transition wise supporters of the new will not be in a hurry to break with the old. “I will lead on softly, according as the flock and the children be able to endure,” said Jacob, and so says every good shepherd.

The brown sheaths remain on the twig after the tender green leaf has burst from within them, but there is no need to pull them off, for they will drop presently. “I will wear three surplices if they like,” said Luther once. “Neither if

we eat are we the better, neither if we eat not are we the worse," said Paul. Such is the spirit of the words here. It is a plea for Christian liberty. If not insisted on as necessary, the outward observances may be allowed. If they are regarded as helps, or as seemly adjuncts or the like, there is plenty of room for difference of opinion and for variety of practice, according to temperament and taste and usage. There are principles which should regulate even these diversities of practice, and Paul has set these forth, in the great chapter about meats in the Epistle to the Romans. But it is a different thing altogether when any external observances are insisted on as essential, either from the old Jewish or from the modern sacramentarian point of view. If a man comes saying, "Except ye be circumcised, ye cannot be saved," the only right answer is, Then I will not be circumcised, and if *you* are, because you believe that you cannot be saved without it, "Christ is become of none effect to you." Nothing is necessary but union to Him, and that comes through no outward observance, but through the faith which worketh by love. Therefore, let no man judge you, but repel all such attempts at thrusting any ceremonial ritual observances on you, on the plea of necessity, with the emancipating truth that the cross of Christ is the death of law.

A few words may be said here on the bearing of the principles laid down in these verses on the religious observance of Sunday. The obligation of the Jewish sabbath has passed away as much as sacrifices and circumcision. That seems unmistakably the teaching here. But the institution of a weekly day of rest is distinctly put in Scripture as independent of, and prior to, the special form and meaning given to the institution in the Mosaic law. That is the natural conclusion from the narrative of the creative rest in Genesis, and from our Lord's emphatic declaration that the sabbath was made for "man"—that is to say, for

the race. Many traces of the pre-Mosaic sabbath have been adduced, and among others we may recall the fact that recent researches show it to have been observed by the Accadians, the early inhabitants of Assyria. It is a physical and moral necessity, and that is a sadly mistaken benevolence which on the plea of culture or amusement for the many, compels the labour of the few, and breaks down the distinction between the Sunday and the rest of the week.

The religious observance of the first day of the week rests on no recorded command, but has a higher origin, inasmuch as it is the outcome of a felt want. The early disciples naturally gathered together for worship on the day which had become so sacred to them. At first, no doubt, they observed the Jewish sabbath, and only gradually came to the practice which we almost see growing before our eyes in the Acts of the Apostles, in the mention of the disciples at Troas coming together on the first day of the week to break bread, and which we gather, from the Apostle's instructions as to weekly setting apart money for charitable purposes, to have existed in the Church at Corinth; as we know, that even in his lonely island prison far away from the company of his brethren, the Apostle John was in a condition of high religious contemplation on the Lord's day, ere yet he heard the solemn voice and saw "the things which are."

This gradual growing up of the practice is in accordance with the whole spirit of the New Covenant, which has next to nothing to say about the externals of worship, and leaves the new life to shape itself. Judaism gave prescriptions and minute regulations; Christianity, the religion of the spirit, gives principles. The necessity, for the nourishment of the Divine life, of the religious observance of the day of rest is certainly not less now than at first. In the hurry and drive of our modern life, with the world forcing itself on us at every moment, we cannot keep up the

warmth of devotion unless we use this day, not merely for physical rest, and family enjoyment, but for worship. They who know their own slothfulness of spirit, and are in earnest in seeking after a deeper, fuller Christian life, will thankfully own "the week were dark but for its light." I distrust the spirituality which professes that all life is a sabbath, and therefore holds itself absolved from special seasons of worship. If the stream of devout communion is to flow through all our days, there must be frequent reservoirs along the road, or it will be lost in the sand, like the rivers of higher Asia. It is a poor thing to say, keep the day as a day of worship because it is a commandment. Better to think of it as a great gift for the highest purposes; and not let it be merely a day of rest for jaded bodies, but make it one of refreshment for cumbered spirits, and rekindle the smouldering flame by drawing near to Christ in public and in private. So shall we gather stores that may help us to go in the strength of that meat for some more marches on the dusty road of life.

II. The Apostle passes on to his second peal of warning,—that against the teaching about angel mediators, which would rob the Colossian Christians of their prize,—and draws a rapid portrait of the teachers of whom they are to beware.

"Let no man rob you of your prize." The metaphor is the familiar one of the race or the wrestling ground, the umpire or judge is Christ, the reward is that incorruptible crown of glory, of righteousness, woven not of fading bay leaves, but of sprays from the "tree of life," which dower with undying blessedness the brows round which they are wreathed. Certain people are trying to rob them of their prize—not consciously, for that would be inconceivable, but such is the tendency of their teaching. No names will be mentioned, but he draws a portrait of the robber with swift firm hand, as if he had said, If you want to know

whom I mean, here he is. Four clauses, like four rapid strokes of the pencil do it, marked in the Greek by four participles, the first of which is obscured in the Authorized Version. "Delighting in humility and the worshipping of angels." So probably the first clause should be rendered. The first words are almost contradictory, and are meant to suggest that the humility has not the genuine ring about it. Self-conscious humility in which a man takes delight is not the real thing. A man who knows that he is humble, and is self complacent about it, glancing out of the corners of his downcast eyes at any mirror where he can see himself, is not humble at all. "The devil's darling vice is the pride which apes humility."

So *very* humble were these people that they would not venture to pray to God! *There* was humility indeed. So far beneath did they feel themselves, that the utmost they could do was to lay hold of the lowest link of a long chain of angel mediators, in hope that the vibration might run upwards through all the links, and perhaps reach the throne at last. Such fantastic abasement which would not take God at His word, nor draw near to Him in His Son, was really the very height of pride.

Then follows a second descriptive clause, of which no altogether satisfactory interpretation has yet been given. Possibly, as has been suggested, we have here an early error in the text, which has affected all the manuscripts, and cannot now be corrected. Perhaps on the whole, the translation adopted by the Revised Version presents the least difficulty—"dwelling in the things which he hath seen." In that case the seeing would be not by the senses, but by visions and pretended revelations, and the charge against the false teachers would be that they "walked in a vain show" of unreal imaginations and visionary hallucinations, whose many-coloured misleading lights they followed rather than the plain sunshine of revealed facts in Jesus Christ.

“Vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind” is the next feature in the portrait. The self-conscious humility was only skin deep, and covered the utmost intellectual arrogance. The heretic teacher was swollen with what after all was only wind, like a blown bladder; he was dropsical from conceit of “mind,” or, as we should say, “intellectual ability,” which after all was only the instrument and organ of the “flesh,” the sinful self. And, of course, being all these things, he would have no firm grip of Christ, from whom such tempers and views were sure to detach him. Therefore the damning last clause of the indictment is “not holding the Head.” How could he? And the slackness of his grasp of the Lord Jesus would make all these errors and faults ten times worse.

Now the special forms of these errors which are here dealt with are all gone past recall. But the tendencies which underlay these special forms are as rampant as ever, and work unceasingly to loosen our hold of our dear Lord. The worship of angels is dead, but we are still often tempted to think that we are too lowly and sinful to claim our portion of the faithful promises of God. The spurious humility is by no means out of date, which knows better than God does, whether He can forgive us our sins, and bend over us in love. We do not slip in angel mediators between ourselves and Him, but the tendency to put the sole work of Jesus Christ “into commission,” is not dead. We are all tempted to grasp at others as well as at Him, for our love, and trust, and obedience, and we all need the reminder that to lay hold of any other props is to lose hold of Him, and that he who does not cleave to Christ alone, does not cleave to Christ at all.

We do not see visions and dream dreams any more, except here and there some one led astray by a so-called “spiritualism,” but plenty of us attach more importance to our own subjective fancies or speculations about the ob-

scurer parts of Christianity than to the clear revelation of God in Christ. The "unseen world" has for many minds an unwholesome attraction. The Gnostic spirit is still in full force among us, which despises the foundation facts and truths of the Gospel as "milk for babes," and values its own baseless artificial speculations about subordinate matters, which are unrevealed because they are subordinate, and fascinating to some minds because unrevealed, far above the truths which are clear because they are vital, and insipid because they are clear. We need to be reminded that Christianity is not for speculation, but to make us good, and that "He who has fashioned their hearts alike," has made us all to live by the same air, to be nourished by the same bread from heaven, to be saved and purified by the same truth. That in the Gospel which the little child can understand, of which the outcast and the barbarian can get some kind of hold, which the failing spirit groping in the darkness of death can dimly see as its light in the valley—that is the all-important part of the Gospel. What needs special training and capacity to understand is no essential portion of the truth that is meant for the world.

And a swollen self-conceit is of all things the most certain to keep a man away from Christ. We must feel our utter helplessness and need, before we shall lay hold on Him, and if ever that wholesome lowly sense of our own emptiness is clouded over, that moment will our fingers relax their tension, and that moment will the flow of life into our deadness run slow and pause. Whatever slackens our hold of Christ tends to rob us of the final prize, that crown of life which He gives.

Hence the solemn earnestness of these warnings. It was not only a doctrine, more or less, that was at stake, but it was their eternal life. Certain truths believed would increase the firmness of their hold on their Lord, and thereby would secure the prize. Disbelieved, the

disbelief would slacken their grasp of Him, and thereby would deprive them of it. We are often told that the Gospel gives heaven for right belief, and that that is unjust. But if a man does not believe a thing, he cannot have in his character or feelings the influence which the belief of it would produce. If he does not believe that Christ died for his sins, and that all his hopes are built on that great Saviour, he will not cleave to Him in love and dependence. If he does not cleave to Him so, he will not draw from Him the life which would mould his character and stir him to run the race. If he do not run the race he will never win or wear the crown. That crown is the reward and issue of character and conduct, made possible by the communication of strength and new nature from Jesus, which again is made possible through our faith laying hold of Him as revealed in certain truths, and of these truths as revealing Him. Therefore, intellectual error may loose our hold on Christ, and if we slacken that, we shall forfeit the prize. Matters of curious interest belonging to the less plainly revealed corners of Christian truth may, and often do, act in paralysing the limbs of the Christian athlete. "Ye did run well, what hath hindered you," has to be asked of many whom a spirit akin to this described in our text has made languid in the race. To us all, knowing in some measure how the whole sum of influences around us work to detach us from our Lord, and so to rob us of the crown which is inseparable from His presence, the solemn exhortation which He speaks from heaven may well come, "Hold fast that thou hast; let no man take thy crown."

III. The source and manner of all true growth is next set forth, in order to enforce the warning, and to emphasize the need of holding the Head.

Christ, as Head, is not merely supreme and sovereign. The metaphor goes much deeper, and points to Him as the

source of a real spiritual life, from Him communicated to all the members of the true Church, and constituting it an organic whole. We have found the same expression twice already in the Epistle, once as applied to His relation to "the body, the Church" (i. 18), and once in reference to the "principalities and powers." The errors in the Colossian Church derogated from Christ's sole sovereign place as fountain of all life natural and spiritual for all orders of beings, and hence the emphasis of the Apostle's proclamation of the counter truth. That life which flows from the head is diffused through the whole body by the various and harmonious action of all the parts. It is "supplied and knit together," or in other words, the functions of nutrition and compaction into a whole are performed by the "joints and bands," in which last word are included muscles, nerves, tendons, and any of the "connecting bands which strap the body together." Their action is the condition of growth; but the Head is the source of all which the action of the members transmits to the body. Christ is the source of all nourishment. From Him flows the life-blood which feeds the whole, and by which every form of supply is ministered whereby the body grows. Christ is the source of all unity. Churches have been bound together by other bonds, such as creeds, polity, or even nationality; but that external bond is only like a rope round a bundle of fagots, while the true, inward unity springing from common possession of the life of Christ, is as the unity of some great tree, through which the same sap circulates from massive bole to the tiniest leaf that flutters at the tip of the farthest branch.

These blessed results of supply and unity are effected through the action of the various parts. If each organ is in healthy action, the body grows. There is diversity in offices; the same life is light in the eyes, beauty in the cheek, strength in the hand, thought in the brain. The

more you rise in the scale of life the more the body is differentiated, from the simple sac that can be turned inside out and has no division of parts or offices, up to man. So in the Church. The effect of Christianity is to heighten individuality, and to give each man his own proper "gift from God," and therefore each man his office, "one after this manner and another after that." Therefore is there need for the freest possible unfolding of each man's idiosyncrasy, heightened and hallowed by an indwelling Christ, lest the body should be the poorer if any member's activity be suppressed, or any one man be warped from his own work wherein he is strong, to become a feeble copy of another's. The perfect light is the blending of all colours.

A community where each member thus holds firmly by the Head, and each ministers in his degree to the nourishment and compaction of the members, will, says Paul, increase with the increase of God. The increase will come from Him, will be pleasing to Him, will be essentially the growth of His own life in the body. There is an increase not of God. These heretical teachers were swollen with dropsical self-conceit; but this is wholesome, solid growth. For individuals and communities of professing Christians the lesson is always seasonable, that it is very easy to get an increase of the other kind. The individual may increase in apparent knowledge, in volubility, in visions and speculations, in so-called Christian work; the Church may increase in members, in wealth, in culture, in influence in the world, in apparent activities, in subscription lists, and the like—and it may all be not sound growth, but proud flesh, which needs the knife. One way only there is by which we may increase with the increase of God, and that is that we keep fast hold of Jesus Christ, and "let Him not go, for He is our life." The one exhortation which includes all that is needful, and which being obeyed, all ceremonies and all speculations will drop into their right place, and become

helps, not snares, is the exhortation which Barnabas gave to the new Gentile converts at Antioch—that “with purpose of heart they should cleave unto the Lord.”

ALEXANDER MACLAREN.

THOUGHTS.

1. **The Word.**—There are many languages and many tongues, and one Voice sounds through all. “The floods lift up their voice, the heavens declare the glory of God. Day unto day poureth forth speech. . . . It is not a language, neither are they words, the voice whereof cannot be heard . . . their sound is gone out through all the earth and their words to the end of the world.”

Colour, sound, form, are each a language. And some speak through the one and some through the other, and some through two or all three. And the sculptor cannot speak through colour or sound, or the musician through form or colour; but the painter speaks through colour and form and not through sound. And the poet without either speaks in all, and calls each into his service.

But if we will we may know an inward Word of Life which expresses that which gives colour, sound and form their glory, their truth, their being. Thus likewise the elements are a language. And we may know as one that Voice which sounds through air and cries in fire and murmurs in water and whispers through earth.

The Word is the meaning and the meeting-place of all words; the whole of which each language is a part. All true utterance is therein, the Spoken Thought of God; including in the range of expression all that we know as consciousness and will, as reason and personality, all that we need as a Way, as a Truth, as a Life; showing us that from which our fatherhoods are named, endowing us with the very desire for Truth which some blindly think that Christ cannot satisfy; the witness of that Unity from which all true fact springs.

2. **Deafness and Blindness.**—God maketh a great silence, that we may hear distinctly the softest whisper of the still, small Voice. And He maketh a great darkness, that we may be able to discern the least and farthest of His stars of truth.

3. **Pain to Refuse and Pain to Accept.**—Two kinds of pain contrasted; the one a note of warning that we are leaving God, the other an assurance that we are drawing nearer to Him; the one a monitor and the other a pledge.

(1) The thrill of suffering which means a slight and else unconscious waver from the true line of the will for us; or the pang which might be felt by the keen blade in the angel's hand, when blunted and jagged and thus no longer swift to cleave asunder barriers or penetrate disguises, or stab the serpent lie to the heart for God. Or the pain of the sensitive eye or ear of the spirit roughly touched and bruised, and so losing their power to discern the way of God.

(2) The awful and precious pain which is the very warrant and sign of our nearness to and oneness with the Sufferer and the Sacrifice; and the pain of our dulness, blindness, crookedness, in being *sharpened* to strike, *unveiled* to see, *straightened* to will with Him!

For His sake let us flee the first touch of the one: let us thank our own Lord for the other. The first is the signal to stop, on peril of measureless ill; the second beckons us forward, revealing the Cross and the Crown.

VICTORIA WELBY-GREGORY.

BREVIA.

The Didaché and Barnabas.—It was assumed by the first commentators on the newly discovered *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, that the *Epistle of Barnabas* was one of the sources of the manual. Many now think that Barnabas drew from the *Teaching*; and there is a third view, that both drew from a common source. An argument (in its own sphere decisive) against the first view may be drawn from the grammatical structure of chap. v., on the way of death.

Of this "way" it says: "First of all it is evil and full of curse. Murders, adulteries . . . boastfulness. Persecutors of the good, etc." The abruptness with which the series of nominatives, *Murders, etc.*, is introduced, and the suddenness of the transition to evil men, *Persecutors of the good, etc.*, are quite in keeping with the Hebraic character of the *Teaching*; but a writer of idiomatic Greek would be tempted to improve upon such syntax.

The description in *Apost. Const.*, vii., accordingly runs as follows: "But the way of death is exhibited in evil deeds. For in it is ignorance of God and superinduction of many gods, through whom are: Murders, etc., persecution of the good, . . . For the doers of these things cleave not to good, etc." The new patches on the old garment are not hard to recognise.

Turning now from this confessedly later redactor, to Barnabas, we find him likewise mending the grammar of the *Didaché*, thus: "But the way of blackness (?) is crooked and full of curse. For it is a way of death eternal with punishment, in which are the things that destroy men's life. Idolatry, etc." He agrees with the *Teaching* in its sudden transition to "Persecutors of the good," which completes the proof that he is a copyist, from whatever source. In his description of the evil way he must have copied, if not from the *Teaching*, from an original of which it has preserved the true form. There is something to be said for the view that he had the complete *Teaching* before him, but the coincidences do not all lie so near the surface.

In the Greek the descriptions in the *Teaching* and *Barnabas* respectively run as follows:—

Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὐτή. Πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρως μεστή. Φόνου κ.τ.λ. ἀλαζονεία. Διωκταὶ ἀγαθῶν κ.τ.λ.

Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδοῦ σκολιά ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρως μεστή. Ὁδοῦ γὰρ ἐστὶ θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶ τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν. Εἰδώλολατρεία κ.τ.λ. Διωκταὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κ.τ.λ.

Barnabas (quoting from memory) upsets the order of the *Teaching*. The late redactor preserves it, copying closely, except where he deliberately improves the construction.

C. TAYLOR.

Martensen's Jacob Böhme.¹—Jacob Böhme, shoemaker, theosophist, Teutonic philosopher, was one of those strange combinations of simplicity and profundity, ignorance and genius, attractiveness to some and repulsiveness to others, which appear at intervals to puzzle mankind. Those who would dismiss his "stupendous reveries" with a contemptuous smile can hardly have taken into account how many powerful minds and pious souls have been profoundly impressed by his teaching. Besides the great German thinkers, such names as those of Sir Isaac Newton, King Charles I., William Blake, John Byrom, and above all, William Law, all of whom were, more or less, admirers of Böhme, are enough to show that his writings at least deserve respectful consideration. We therefore give a cordial welcome to the English translation of Bishop Martensen's *Studies* of this extraordinary man's life and writings. Only those who have attempted to grapple with Böhme's full works, either in the original or in the English translation, can appreciate the debt of gratitude which we owe to Dr. Martensen for his clear, thoughtful and appreciative summary and criticism of the theosophist's life and writings. Nor must we forget to thank the translator who has given us the great prelate's valuable work in an English dress. Mr. Evans, by the way, has fallen into the common error of attributing the English translation of Böhme's works to William Law. It is true that the translation is described as his; but as a matter of fact, he had nothing whatever to do with it, and he would certainly never have allowed it to be printed, for he always regarded Böhme as "caviare to the general." The real translator was probably a Mr. Ward, and it was published, some time after Law's death, at the sole expense of his disciple, Mrs. Hutcheson. It is obviously impossible within our limits to give even the briefest sketch of Dr. Martensen's work. He has wisely given only 16 out of 344 pages to the "Life;" for it is the writings, not the life, of Böhme which are the best subjects of "study," and in those writings he has picked out, with wonderful acumen, just those points which are most salient and interesting. We would only caution the reader not to be discouraged by the fact that he will find a hard nut to crack at

¹ *Jacob Böhme: His Life and Teaching; or Studies in Theosophy.* By the late Dr. Hans Martensen, Metropolitan of Denmark. Translated from the Danish by T. Rhys Evans. Hodder and Stoughton, 1885.

first. The most difficult to understand, and, in our opinion, the least interesting part of the *Studies*, is the first section: "God and the Uncreated Heaven." When we come to the second section, "God and the Created World," we enter upon a subject which is not only more intelligible in itself, but also one in which Böhme gives us more valuable and tenable suggestions. "No philosopher," writes Dr. Martensen, "has given a truer and more profound explanation of evil than Böhme;" and few have written more suggestively on the Fall, the Atonement, the Wrath of God, and other kindred topics to which no thoughtful person can be indifferent.

J. H. OVERTON.

**Note on The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,
Chapter xi.**—I venture to suggest an emendation in a clause

of acknowledged difficulty. The whole passage runs thus: *πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂν διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν † εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν † ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ἑμῶν· μετὰ Θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσάυτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφήται.*

For the words marked † . . . † I would conjecture τὰ (?) εἰς μαρτύριον κόσμιον.¹ In support of this conjecture, the following points seem worth considering:—(1) It is in *general* harmony with the context. Two types of prophetic character are presented which are evidently intended to be contrasted. The first prophet teaches well, but his actions give the lie to his teaching. The second orders his own actions, that *the Church may have an honest report*, but his teaching fails in practical effect. The former is self-condemned; the latter is left to God's

¹ Readers of the *EXPOSITOR* (May, 1885, p. 397) may remember Dr. Marcus Dods' interpretation of this clause. He supposes the reference to be to "the declaration of future and as yet hidden historical movements. . . . A prophet calls the Christian people together that he may indulge in apocalyptic rhapsodies." This very ingenious and attractive interpretation appears open to some objections. (1) The connexion of clauses is not satisfactory. We should have expected ποιῶν δὲ . . . καὶ μὴ διδάσκων. (2) ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ is left without anything in the previous context to refer to, δεδοκιμασμένος and ἀληθινός pointing to official and not personal character. (3) ποιῶν, though somewhat prominent in the sentence, is in sense divorced from οὐ ποιεῖ in the preceding and from ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ in the succeeding context.

judgment. (2) *In particular* it gives a natural meaning to the clause, "For thus also did the ancient prophets." Eli, Samuel (1 Sam. viii. 1-3), David and Elisha (2 Kings v. 20 sq.) are cases in point. (3) The passage so read may be thought to underlie some parts of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. There, however, discipline takes the place of teaching. Thus, "the Bishop must not only be blameless, but also no respecter of persons, in kindness chastening those who sin. . . . He . . . who does not execute judgment, but spares him who deserves punishment, as Saul spared Agag, and Eli his sons who knew not the Lord, thereby profanes his own good name and the Church of God which is in his diocese" (ii. 9, 10). Again, "but thou, O Bishop, must neither overlook the sins of the people nor turn away from those who repent, that so thou mayest not, as one unskilled, destroy the Lord's flock, nor bring a slight upon the new name laid upon the people, and thyself suffer rebuke like the shepherds of old time (οἱ παλαιοὶ ποιμένες), concerning whom Jeremiah spake (xii. 10, comp. Zech. x. 3; Mal. i. 6)" (ii. 15). Again in vii. 31, where there is nothing parallel to the phrase, εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικόν, or the context which it dominates, one or two expressions recall the passage of the *Teaching* as I would emend it. (4) The passage so read is seen to contain a series of words and thoughts found also in 1 Tim. iii. ἀνεπίλημπτον, κόσμιον, διδακτικόν (ver. 2), μαρτυρίαν καλὴν. . . . ἀπὸ τῶν ἕξωθεν¹ (ver. 7). (5) Lastly, the change which I propose is easy. Transcriptional probability favours it. Thus μαρτύριον has been altered to μυστήριον, in e.g. 1 Cor. ii. 1, Polyc. *ad Philip.*, vii., *Constit. Apost.*, ii. 25 (p. 51, l. 3, ed. Lagarde). In the *Teaching*, as in the last of these passages, the juxtaposition of the word ἐκκλησία may well have suggested the change. Or perhaps the phrase τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι immediately above facilitated an alteration which supplied an apparently antithetical expression.

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FRED. H. CHASE.

¹ Perhaps κοσμικόν should be retained as equivalent to ἀπὸ τῶν ἕξωθεν.

THE ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS IN PALESTINE.

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR SOCIN.

HAVING recently returned from South Africa, I have only just had the opportunity of reading Prof. Socin's criticism, in the *EXPOSITOR* for October, 1885, of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The criticism, though at times severe, is that of a fairly competent witness, who does not fail also to point out the good work of the Society. It would therefore be impossible to let it pass without notice; and, indeed, there is much that Prof. Socin says with which I, for one, thoroughly concur. At the same time the general result of such an article would, as I hope to be able to show, be to give an impression unintentionally quite false as to the published work of the Society; and I fear that in some of his criticisms Prof. Socin, who is perhaps best known as the compiler of a useful Handbook to Syria, will not escape the recoil upon himself of those charges of insufficient acquaintance with the results of modern critical or antiquarian research which he brings against those who have laboured in the field of Palestine exploration.

I should myself be the last to claim that any work of mine was free from errors and imperfections. I have taken occasion to say so in the Jerusalem Chamber in 1880; and I hope that since I first went to Syria, in 1872, I have been able to learn a great deal, and have shown myself willing to acknowledge any errors which have been pointed out to me.¹ At the risk, however, of being charged

¹ The task of criticising other men's work appears to me to be a less useful expenditure of energy than that of endeavouring to learn for oneself. At the same time I am tempted to ask, whether Prof. Socin is aware that even his own

with "abusing the plaintiff," I have ventured in a note to remark that there are reasons why Prof. Socin should extend to his brother students in the field the charity which ought to exist between those who wish to do service to science. A review like that of Prof. Socin is, I feel, very healthy. It clears the air, and is quite a relief after fourteen years of rejoicings, in some of which I have never felt able to join with much heartiness.

There are three questions in the review which have perhaps hardly been sufficiently distinguished. 1st, That of the permanent Map and Memoirs by which the Society must be judged. 2nd, Their more ephemeral or speculative publications, the *Quarterly Statement*, and the Old Testament and New Testament Maps, with their popular books. 3rd, Works not published by the Society at all, such as

valuable Handbook is open to criticism which might be made entirely misleading, if the errors were exposed, while no notice was taken of the sound results contained in the book? Prof. Socin is presumably well acquainted with the distinction between *Nahu*, or grammarian's Arabic, and *Hakki*, or the vulgar (often ungrammatical) speech of daily life. His book contains, however, no warning to the traveller that the expressions and sentences which occur in the vocabulary bristle with vulgarisms such as are used, indeed, by dragomans and muleteers, but not by educated Syrians. *Awam* for Kawam, *Abl* for Kabl, *Ana bakul*, *Addeish* for Kad ei shi, *Nuss el leil* for Nusi el Leil, are but a few instances of these vulgar phrases. I cannot but suppose that Prof. Socin knows the word Mueddhin, why then does he spell it Mueddin? Still more curious is the fact that he occasionally confuses the gutturals ح and خ, an error which is indeed common enough among the German residents in Palestine, but which one would scarcely expect of Prof. Socin. For instance, he writes Dohn for دخن "millet" (p. 45), not to speak of Kharbaj for Herbj, and Sikh for Sih. Probably 'Arbain for "forty" is a slip of the pen for Arbain اربعين but why is Jebel et Tor translated (p. 217) "mountain of light"? Surely the Aramaic word טור means a hill top? Again we are told that عيس means Esau rather than Jesus (p. 93); but in Palestine, Esau is known as العيس and never as 'Aisa. Why again are we told that Muntâr is the name of a Moslem saint? (p. 309) It is generally supposed to mean "watch-tower," and the saint's name in this case was 'Aly. I should be sorry to say that Prof. Socin was little acquainted with Italian, but why does he write *Foresteria* for *Forestiera*? I should not presume to doubt his knowledge of Hebrew, but it is not evident why (p. 400) he connects Harra with the Hebrew Charezim. As to the names in his Handbook, many are wrong, e.g. Yafufa (Yahfufa), Jedra

my Handbook and Primer, and Mr. Henderson's Handbook, for which the Society are in nowise responsible.

It is only fair to the committee of the Society to remember, that library scholars and the conductors of exploration parties are not made always of the same stuff. The committee choose the commander; they ask him for a professional report, whereby he must be judged; and if he choose to add the results of his own literary studies, and if they publish these always with the caution that for such suggestions the author is responsible, it is, I think, clear that they have fulfilled at once their duty to the public and to the explorer. This is what the Society have always done. It is a question then: 1st, As to the professional report; 2nd, As to the explorer's opinions; but in both cases a question between the explorer and the critic, not between the committee and the critic. I think that within the limits at his disposal, Prof. Socin might have

(Jidru), Sedeideh (Jedeideh), Yasir (Teiasir), etc. etc., but I feel convinced that these are printer's errors. There are, however, other points where such explanation is of no avail. The Maronites were reconciled to Rome in 1182, not "about 1600" (p. 88). Again we are told that Syria (סוריא) is derived from Assyria (אסיר), p. 39. These are instances picked at random from many other minor blemishes in Prof. Socin's work. Even in matters of modern topography there might be improvements. Why, I may ask, in publishing a bad copy of my Survey of Carmel, has Prof. Socin written Khàn to every ruin? was he misled by the abbreviation Kh. for Kharbeh on my map, or does he really think every ruin on Carmel is a Khan? Again, Sarona (p. 131) is not in Jaffa, but a distinct colony. The north gate of Jerusalem is called Bab ez Zahrah, not Sahrah (the old title); the Lacus Germanus was not named from a Germanus, but because constructed by knights of the German hospice. There is only one inscription at Arak el Emir (p. 308), and no philologist would agree with Prof. Socin that this is written in ancient Hebrew. Eleazar and Abishuah at 'Awertah (p. 328) are not known as "two famous teachers of the Talmud," but as the immediate descendants of Aaron. When Prof. Socin says that "the Arabic characters have been developed from the Syriac" (p. 104), he lays himself open to the charge of being only very slightly acquainted with the history of Semitic alphabets. There are many similar criticisms which I might add, but these are sufficient to show that even so careful and comparatively simple a work as that of the compiled Handbook bearing Prof. Socin's name, cannot be made quite perfect all at once. I again call attention, however, to the fact that it is by far the best yet written. But I am tempted to add, "People who live in glass houses, etc."

said more than he has about the professional reports—as to the physical description of the country, the minute accounts with plans and photographic drawings of the ruins, the legends and notes as to population, the inscriptions, and other details tending to establish date or historical sequence, the accounts of masonry dressing and other distinguishing peculiarities. Prof. Socin has, however, preferred to confine his notice to picking holes in the results which have been published outside this professional report on Palestine, which forms the main material of the Memoirs, and the most solid basis of the reputation which the Palestine Exploration Fund enjoys, at all events in England; and with his criticisms, therefore, we are now more immediately concerned.

As regards Prof. Socin's preference for the work of Guerin,¹ over the trigonometrical survey, I can only say that I am prepared to show that the methods and results of our professional work in Palestine are correct. There are small ruins not shown on my map which appear on the sketch maps made by various travellers. In some cases I know that those sketch maps are, in this respect, incorrect, special inquiry having been made at the time. In other cases the alternative name will be found in the Memoir. In others, the evidence did not appear sufficient to justify placing the name on the map. It is curious that Prof. Socin, who objects to a supposed "apologetic tendency" in the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, has raised no such objection to the orthodox Romanism of M. Guerin, which, from an English point of view, detracts from the scientific value of his work.

¹ Some of the objections are very trivial. Taiyibeh (G. Thayibeh) is spelt طيبه. Deir es Surian (G. Deir Sirian) the survey spelling is clearly the more probable. Radj for Rāj is the well-known French transliteration dj for ج As to position, I see no reason why Guerin's sketch should be more correct than a survey.

As regards the enumeration of my published works, I presume *Heth and Moab* is omitted as not treating of Western Palestine. I hope, however, that in this work Prof. Socin may recognise an advance on earlier attempts in *Tent Work in Palestine*, which was pointed out by my English reviewers. I regret that he has not thought well to mention this later publication, which is, I hope, an improvement on former publications of the Society bearing my name.

Respecting the arrangement of the Memoirs, I agree with Prof. Socin, that it is clumsy. The committee adopted it, I believe, on the model of the Memoirs of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain. I always objected to the arrangement, and they allowed me to choose my own arrangement in writing the Memoir of the Eastern Survey (as yet unpublished), which arrangement will, I trust, be found more concise and easier for reference. As regards the proposed paper on the Siloam text, I may suggest to Prof. Socin that the volume of special papers was published before this inscription was discovered. A full account of the text occurs in the Jerusalem volume. Again, the suggestion that a treatise on physical geography is wanted, seems to leave out of sight the fact that each sheet of the Memoir commences with an account of the orography, hydrography, and topography of the sheet, and of the cultivation of the district. In this Prof. Socin will find the account of the water supply, which he seems to have vainly sought among the special papers. I have, however, no doubt that a clear abstract of these detailed accounts of physical geography would give a better result than that which Mr. Trelawny Saunders attained, before the publication of the Memoir, by simply describing in detail on paper the features which any intelligent student can trace for himself on the map.

Another point where Prof. Socin seems to assume

ignorance on the part of the authors of the Memoir, is that of Biblical criticism. Can he point to any statement of mine to the effect that I refer the list of desert stations to Moses, or the statistics of the division of Palestine to Joshua? He seems himself to see that my paper on Samaritan Topography tells a different tale. I may however say, that I agree with Prof. Socin in thinking the Levitical division of the land to represent a late condition of society. On the other hand, I think that Prof. Socin speaks far too confidently as to "different documents," and I regard the German views as to the distinction of such documents as being much too speculative. A school of more sober criticism, which acknowledges our inability to dogmatise as to the exact date and tendency of every episode of Old Testament books, is fast arising, and I look to see the fashionable views of Wellhausen and others pass into the limbo of former theories, as being the work of men far too self-satisfied concerning their infallibility and keen acumen as exegetical critics.

I am not aware that the permanent publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund can justly be said to have an "apologetic tendency." Survey and the description of ruins have no tendency at all; they represent the collection of facts on which the reader may put any construction he pleases. The strength of the Society lies in the fact that officially it recognises no *views*, only dealing with ascertained facts. It is clear, from Prof. Socin's misconstruction of my views on Biblical criticism, that there can have been nothing in the Survey Memoirs to allow of his knowing what those views are.

As regards the identification of the Akkadians with Mongols, I am not sure what Prof. Socin's objection can be. Perhaps I should have written Finns or Uralo-Altaic races, but this is a very slight alteration. I can hardly believe that Prof. Socin is ignorant of the results of philo-

logy in this case. The labours of Lenormant have proved beyond doubt that the old non-Semitic speech of Mesopotamia of the Akkadians, Sumerians, early Elamites and Cosseans, was closely akin to the Finnic language, and (according to the ordinary use of the word) was therefore Turanian.¹ Again, as regards the Amorites, Prof. Socin says, "It is the name in a particular document for the Canaanites in general." I presume he is referring to one of the hypothetical documents into which some German scholars divide the Pentateuch; but considering how various are the views as to these components, no ordinary student is as yet bound to accept any one among them in particular as belonging to the category of ascertained fact. Prof. Socin is presumably aware that the Amaur are mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions, and I may remark in the known instances that they always appear as inhabiting the "high lands."

It is not exactly representing my views to say that I regard the Nestorians as the Ten Tribes; and as regards Neby Saleh, I should no doubt have mentioned the story of his dromedary (found in the Koran), but Neby Saleh still remains a peculiar figure in Arab folklore not yet identified with any figure in other systems. Respecting the Fellah language and the Aramaic of the fourth century, I must refer Prof. Socin to St. Jerome and to Cyril—or even to Robinson. The evidence of the Aramaic influence on Syrian speech is, I think, far too strong to be hastily set aside by a dictum like that of my critic, that it "rests upon lack of knowledge," and far better students than

¹ If this "makes a very painful impression on a serious German student," I can only suppose that the student in question knows very little of Assyriology. As to the Phœnicians coming from Mesopotamia, the evidence is not only that of Strabo or Herodotus, but includes philological considerations which seem to me of great weight, such as the name Akharu, the worship of Nergal and Tammuz, and other indications of a like kind. I am aware that this migration is doubted by some, but it is accepted by good authorities.

myself have remarked upon this peculiarity in the case of the Nabatheans. I however maintain my original view, that the Bedawin are very little touched by Islam, often mere pagans still. Such was my experience at least, after living among them for a considerable time, and the question is fully examined in *Heth and Moab*, to which I refer Prof. Socin for details.

Prof. Socin again seems to fail in making a point as regards the worship of the Makams, "a worship," he says, "as different from the old idolatry as is the Catholic image worship." Has he, I would ask, reflected on the mass of evidence which shows that Catholic image worship also is directly founded on paganism, and that throughout Europe pagan deities of the Kelts or Gauls or Germans are still adored as Christian saints. The parallel is at least an unfortunate one for the critic.

As to the acceptability of Talmudic tradition in topography, there may be differences of opinion. My own belief is, that the earlier works of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, included under this general title with others of later date, are of very high value, as representing indigenious tradition. Like all other evidence, it cannot of course be accepted unquestioned. The question of identification is again one of opinion, but the rules of the interchange of certain letters which I have always attempted to follow are recognised by every student. Why Prof. Socin should prefer Talluza (طَلُّوزَة) to Teiasir (تِيَاصِير) as representing Tirzah (תִּרְזָה) I cannot see; the former word has not a single letter in common with the Hebrew.¹

As regards the Tomb of Rachel, I can only say that I

¹ As regards the cases (four out of more than 150) to which Prof. Socin takes exception—

Hosah = Ezziyah is suggested for topographical reasons.

Hannathon = Kefr 'Anân is also chiefly on account of geographical position. The Talmudic Caphar Hananiah seems however to give an intermediate stage.

Neiel has the article in the Hebrew, which Prof. Socin seems to neglect.

have no confidence in Mr. Schick's supposed discovery. I investigated the matter carefully on the spot and found no basis for his assertion, nor has any one since confirmed the supposed existence of the name at Mr. Schick's site. Nor do the passages mentioned by Prof. Socin (1 Sam. x. 2; Jer. xxxi. 15) prove that Rachel's tomb was ever north of Jerusalem, while Gen. xxxv. 19, not mentioned by Prof. Socin, distinctly states that this tomb was near Bethlehem (see 16).

Prof. Socin does not believe that the Cities of the Plain were north of the Dead Sea. Josephus said they were under it, and the Biblical account may mean the same, but I can hardly think that any one who has visited the southern shores of the Dead Sea could believe it had ever been a district capable of supporting a settled population, whereas the plains of Jericho still are so capable. This, however, is not a matter in any way affecting the credit of the survey of Palestine.¹

As regards my identifications of Neby Námán with Micah, and of Neby Máshúk with Melkarth, Prof. Socin has omitted all reference to the historical evidence on which alone they rest. Perhaps he has not been able to find it in the Memoir, but I assure him that it is there awaiting his perusal. I am perhaps to blame for not giving cross references, but must beg for indulgence, as I was again exploring in Palestine while the memoirs of my first survey were being published in England.

I now come to the question of the Arabic name lists, where I am more in accord with the critic. I cannot,

Tell en Nahl is quite out of the question, but I am not responsible for this rather wild shot of Mr. T. Saunders.

Chephar Haamonai is also supported by topographical requirements as to situation.

¹ The suggestion that Kasim was Cadmus was made by Prof. Palmer. It certainly seems unfounded. As to Jisr Mujámiá there is a legend attached to the bridge, of a great gathering which once occurred there.

however, think that Prof. Socin can have read my account in the first volume of the *Memoirs of the Method of Execution of the Survey*. It is hardly possible that he can mean flatly to contradict—without any personal knowledge of the survey operations—my direct statement to the effect that the names were *never* repeated by the surveyors to the scribe. Each surveyor had with him invariably a local guide. Every name was taken down from the mouth of that guide in my presence, and in that of the surveyor, by the scribe. The error, if any, must have been that of the native guide. I do not, however, note any instances of such error mentioned by Prof. Socin, and I have no doubt that my assurance will induce him not again to repeat his hasty assertion, which is contrary to fact.¹

The grammatical points raised by Prof. Socin do not show, as he supposes, our ignorance of Arab grammar. They evince clearly to any one who has for six years² been living among the Fellahin, writing down their words, inquiring into the peculiarities of their dialect, and with the aid of experienced natives and residents examining the question of nomenclature, that Prof. Socin has himself very little knowledge of these dialectic peculiarities. Had he possessed such knowledge he would not have prepared a vocabulary of “townsman’s Arabic” only, for his travellers, and he might even be puzzled to understand a fellah of the outlying districts when he spoke. Thus, for instance, Burak is no doubt not the proper plural of Birkeh, but it is certainly a form used by the peasantry,

¹ There is one instance in the north where the name Tيره is spelt تيره, yet translated “fortress,” by Prof. Palmer. I was, I believe, the first to show how this Aramaic word طيره (تيره) survives in Palestine, though its meaning is lost to the natives. They translate it “bird” (طير) and in the same way Râmeh (“the hill”), they translate “the tank.”

² I spent the years 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1881, 1882, among Fellahin and Arabs. I do not know how many years Prof. Socin includes under the term “a considerable time,” nor do I know if he actually lived among the peasantry and conversed with them daily in their own language.

as is Buwab instead of Abwab for gates. The correct form was constantly suggested to me by our scribe, but I always insisted on the fellah form being that written down. The various sounds of the feminine ending faithfully reproduce the fellah intonation. Surely Prof. Socin does not suppose that Prof. Palmer was capable of ignorance on such an elementary point as that of the *status constructus*, and I may tell the critic, that the list of abbreviations and explanations for those who could not read Arabic, was prepared, not by me, but by Prof. Palmer. The question of transliteration is one of very secondary importance. Robinson's earlier method was adopted by the committee because it was familiar in England. It is not in itself a good system; but no student would rely on the English lettering when he could find the original Arabic in the name lists.

The strictures on translation are more justifiable.¹ For this translation Prof. Palmer is responsible. In my own opinion he often introduced confusion, by rejecting a translation obtained on the spot with great care, for one found in the dictionary. On the other hand, some of my translations which Prof. Socin calls wild, rest on the respectable authority of Lane and Freytag. In the case

¹ Far from its being true that etymologising has fallen into discredit, many of our most advanced critics attach high importance to the right translation of Old Testament names, *e.g.* Prof. Robertson Smith. It is only in the future that we shall be able to judge how many of the one hundred and fifty new Biblical identifications Prof. Socin accepts. Nor has he said anything about the Byzantine sites and the Crusading places newly identified from the survey, of which there are very many.

As regards the "assistance of thorough professional scholars," I may say that Prof. Socin's Handbook seems in want of a scholarly revision which should prevent the confusion of such words as Syria and Assyria, or the writing of Dohm for Dokhn. I however agree that an index and a proper abstract of the Memoirs are wanted. I beg Prof. Socin also clearly to understand, that I am in no way responsible for Mr. T. Saunders' Old Testament Map, which I have had occasion to criticise elsewhere, and which I consider to be quite unsatisfactory. The new maps of the Bible Society, which I have revised for their committee, will be found to differ entirely from that of Mr. Saunders.

of Neby Duhy, Prof. Socin fails to tell me what I have discovered since the Memoirs were published—viz. who this personage was, and where he is mentioned in Moslem literature.

The critic again objects to the translation of Shem (שׁוֹן) as meaning “brown.” It is not, however, my ignorance which is thus shown. The careful note on this question by Prof. Sayce in the *Proceedings of the Biblical Archaeological Society* seems to me to leave no doubt on this subject. This is one of several instances in which I think Prof. Socin hastily condemns statements as to the foundation for which he knows nothing.

As regards other writers, it is not my business either to defend or to condemn. The contributors to the *Quarterly Statements* of the Society are of very various calibre. It is not I think undesirable that, in an ephemeral production of this kind, all who wish should find room to write, but the value of their contributions is matter of opinion. Personally, I should prefer not to see its columns filled with endless discussions on unimportant points which can probably never be settled. I should prefer not again to read therein bad jokes, or personal details of ordinary travellers’ mishaps; but these are rare and unimportant details, and no doubt much very valuable information has been obtained from outsiders through the columns of the *Quarterly Statement*.

I would make an exception in the case of the Rev. A. Henderson to the criticisms of Prof. Socin. This writer has always been remarkable for moderation, modesty and freedom from prejudices. We may not always agree with his views, and I hear, in corresponding with him, that there are a few slips and printer’s errors in his Handbook, which he expects to amend in a future edition. I think, however, that this work—which has, by the bye, nothing to do with the Palestine Exploration Fund—is generally

so sound and useful that it cannot fail to be acceptable in the class for which it is intended.

We have come thus to the end of the Professor's criticisms. We must thank him for his expressions of approval and also for a good many really valuable suggestions and objections, but at the same time we may fairly expect him to withdraw many others which are hasty and ill-informed. We may also be allowed to suggest to his consideration, that no work—not even his own—undertaken by mortal man is perfect, and that it is necessary to look at the general character in pronouncing a verdict. The task of exploring 6000 square miles, and then preparing and publishing the results, is not a small task. It has fallen mainly on the shoulders of Mr. W. Besant and of myself, though there have been many distinguished contributors. I have no doubt Mr. Besant feels as I do, that we have learned as we went on. The task of final assimilation of the huge mass of material is not yet complete. It will probably not be complete for many years. I hope soon to offer a contribution to such assimilation in a work on which I am still engaged; but I fully expect to see, even in Prof. Socin's future editions of his Handbook, the influence of the work that has been already done. Prof. Socin's time is, no doubt, mainly occupied by original research rather than by criticism, and we may hope to obtain some results which may be more valuable even than his critical comments on the Palestine Exploration Fund, from the labours of the German Palestine Society. As yet we have had nothing very striking from them either in the way of exploration or of literature. The papers by Herr Schick and his plans are welcomed as the work of an old and zealous workman, but they are open to criticism far more severe than that levelled against the English Society. After all, we have given the public a solid mass of infor-

mation, vouched for by professional men, and accepted by students of a very high class in England. The critical school is fast being superseded by the historical in England. The study of monuments and inscriptions, coins, statues and buildings, gives us more certain results regarding the vexed questions of Oriental antiquity than any amount of exegetical criticism can be expected to give. If Prof. Socin doubts the existence of non-Semitic races in Syria, his doubt is not shared by those who have studied the records of Egyptian and Akkadian monuments, and I for one believe that more is to be learned from such comparative study than from any amount of theorising on "documents," "editors," "first and second Elohist," and the rest; at the same time it does not follow that because our line of research leads away from these bitter controversies to the safer path of contemporary monumental evidence, we are therefore ignorant of what has been written in these matters. I have studied the works of Kuenen, Ewald, Colenso, Robertson Smith, and other critics, and have become generally acquainted with the views of Hitzig, Wellhausen, and other German critical writers, and I have read Renan's great work, as well as numerous books of Lenormant; but there are many other branches of study which must yield their contributions to the study of Syrian antiquity and to which Prof. Socin does not refer. Such are the publications of the Biblical Archæological Society, the *Records of the Past*, the Sacred Books of the East, the works of Smith, Layard, Rawlinson, Boscawen, Taylor, Sayce, Chabas, Brugsch, Birch, Mariette, De Rougè, and many more. There is so much to do in collating all that these great scholars have written respecting Syria, that the study might well fill a lifetime without leaving time for exegetical works. I think Prof. Socin will agree, that time is better spent in trying to learn than in trying to pick holes in other men's

work. As regards the word already spoken—that is past. If there has been error or shortcoming, all that can be done is to amend in the future, and to strive through the aid of one's critics to avoid the perpetuation of error. In the end, the true lives, the false dies away. All we have a right to require of every writer is, that he should be honest, well-informed and open to conviction, conscientious in doing his best, and conscious of his own fallibility.

Prof. Socin is not the only competent critic who has reviewed the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Others have done so, and have pronounced it good, recognising that it has no "tendency," but is based on observation of fact, leaving to others to draw their own inferences, and embracing the labours of men of very different casts of thought, united only by a desire to ascertain the truth. I hope that Prof. Socin will recognise that it is the design of the English explorers rather to work in friendly emulation than to waste the time by carping at the efforts of others in the same line of study.

C. R. CONDER.

THE BOOK OF ZECHARIAH.

II. THE FOURTH VISION.—ZECH. iii.

THE object of the fourth vision which was seen by Zechariah, was to restore the confidence of the people in the priesthood and its ministry. In commencing to rebuild the Temple the people naturally felt some doubt whether it was any use doing so. A temple without an inhabiting God is a mockery. No doubt the preceding vision had contained the promise, "I will dwell in the midst of thee." But they needed a further assurance. They knew that they

had sinned, and that their priests had sinned with them. They felt the justice of Ezekiel's words (xxii. 26), "Her priests have violated My law and have profaned My holy things"; and they were not sure how the services of these priests would be received by their holy God. In this feeling of doubt which prevailed among the people the vision finds its starting point. Joshua the High Priest is seen standing as the people's representative before the Lord; and the guilty fears of the people find a mouth-piece in Satan, who resists Joshua's intercession on the ground of the past transgressions of the people. This scene in the presence-chamber of Jehovah was the picture sketched by the conscience-stricken fancy of the thoughtful Jews; and the vision was designed to remove their fears by showing that the sin borne by Joshua as their representative was removed, his ministry accepted, and the priesthood established anew. His filthy garments were removed, the mitre placed on his head, and explicit assurances added that he was accepted as ruler in God's house.

This apparently might have closed the vision; but God's graciousness overflows, not only scattering the fears of the people and reinstating the High Priest, but using the opportunity to promise further favours to the people. The "Branch" had now become a recognised title of the Messiah, and the promise of His coming is here renewed. And to this promise is added one which to us is obscure but which no doubt was easily intelligible when first uttered. "For behold the stone which I have laid before Joshua; upon one stone seven eyes; behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts." The stone spoken of was one which the people had seen lying before Joshua, perhaps the foundation-stone which had been laid immediately after their return, perhaps a stone still in the hewer's shed, selected for its dimensions or designed by its carving to be the topstone of the building. The "seven

eyes" are in the next chapter interpreted as "the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth," and must therefore symbolize the providence or watchful care of God. This care was to be displayed in connexion with the stone; God Himself was to carve it, was to defend and uphold it as if it were His own handiwork.

This vision is full of permanent instruction. It can indeed bring encouragement or even interest only to those who have some anxiety about the reception their services are likely to meet with. But as it was no empty dream of an excited timidity which represented to the Jews their High Priest in filthy garments, so it may be expected that similar anxieties may be generated now by the reflection of common sense and by a truthful conscience.

The figure here used to represent the effect of sin upon us tells its own tale. Filthy garments make a man unpleasant company; they make him offensive and disgusting, perhaps contagious to others; and if he has not lost all sense of decency they are to himself a source of constant shame and discomfort. However anxious we may be to be hospitable and friendly, we cannot sit at table nor spend hours and days in the close society of one whose clothes and person are justly termed "filthy." It is easy to overcome, or at least it is possible to overcome, the revulsion and nausea produced by the disagreeable concomitants of certain diseases; for here pity and necessity take the part of the unhappy sufferer; but where the filthiness is not the unavoidable result of disease, but the result of mere carelessness and low habits and contentment with dirt, it forms an insuperable barrier to intercourse.

This vision says that sin forms a similar barrier to intercourse with God. God will not, cannot, ought not to, find pleasure in intercourse with those who are stained with sin. Possibly we have ourselves met with persons whose conversation was so foul or whose habits were of such a kind

that we felt we could not remain in their company. We have learnt that certain sins are disgusting even to ourselves. The ancient Germans used to punish certain criminals by sinking them under a wicker crate in a mud-hole, recognising that in certain sins there is a foulness deserving a foul death; a defilement which men cannot stand and must avenge by a death and burial out of sight in one. And if we see nothing in ourselves which could reasonably be supposed to excite similar feelings in a perfectly pure mind such as that of God, it may be feared that this can only be because we have not the keen spiritual discernment of the prophet. This is a theme for the individual conscience; it is for each to look upon God as He is here depicted, not angry, not taking vengeance, but compelled to turn away from us. Men ought not to be encouraged to believe that good and evil are much the same to God. It is the hope of the world that righteousness will one day prevail, and this hope has for its foundation the fact that God abominates all sin.

The cleansing of Joshua is effected by God. Joshua is helpless. He has no better garments to clothe himself in. Had he had clean raiment, he would have put it on before appearing in God's presence. He appears as he is, because he can do no better. It lies with God to take action regarding his unseemly condition; either, as Satan recommends, by refusing to have any dealings with one in such a state, or by making him fit for the Divine presence and favours. God adopts the latter course.

But what is it in sin that can be thus, suddenly and by another, removed from the sinner? Obviously, our guilt may thus be removed by a simple act of pardon. This God can at any time grant. When we have wronged another person, it lies with that person to forgive us. We may try to forgive ourselves, and may persuade ourselves the injury was slight or done without malice, but this does not prevent

the injured person from refusing forgiveness and taking us to law. Our friends may forgive us, but until the injured party forgives us, we are not clear. This forgiveness may be granted by a word. It calls for no long process. And thus our guilt as transgressors of God's law may at any time be removed by a momentary act of God.

But that which defiles us in God's sight is not only our guilt. We have not only laid ourselves open to punishment, but we have given harbour to wicked imaginings, and we find in our hearts evil propensities and dispositions which excite loathing even in ourselves. These defile us, and make it impossible that a pure God should find pleasure in intercourse with us. A criminal at the bar may be acquitted, and may walk out of court free; but he may, as he goes, use such language regarding the trial, the judges, the crime and his acquittal, as fills us with a deeper loathing of his character than if he had been convicted. Can then the forgiveness pronounced by God be thus dissociated from inward purity? or does this change of raiment include inward cleansing as well as the removal of guilt?

Now the answer is obvious when we consider that the one condition on which we receive forgiveness is that we desire it. Joshua did not provide the clean raiment, nor did he put it on; but he came into God's presence seeking His favour. And this carries with it a great deal. It is the man who wishes forgiveness who gets it. God does not bestow it on us all. He does not scatter it blindfold and indiscriminately. He grants it to the man who feels that above all else he must be reconciled to God. The man who merely fears consequences may not be pardoned; but certainly every man who thirsts for God, and cannot live under His frown, every man who sincerely seeks friendship with God, receives God's forgiveness. But this craving for God's love, this feeling that life is lonely and soulless and vain without

God, this thirst which only reconciliation with God and a sense of His love can quench, implies that the love of sin has got its deathblow in us, and that violently as it may struggle and hideous as may be its contortions, a stronger power has entered us and will at last prevail. Where God sees love for Himself He sees the root of all purity. In every heart that craves His pardon because it prizes His favour, He sees a cleansing power that will gradually assert itself throughout our whole nature, and leave no spot nor stain upon us.

Forgiveness, then, though it cannot be earned by us, and though it is the act of another, implies that we are in a certain state of mind. Forgiveness is never a merely external and superficial thing, but it involves the supposition that we are seeking with our whole heart the favour of a holy God. Forgiven persons are therefore persons who already have the root of all good in them, whose tastes have now a purifying element in them, who are clean because they love God—in a shamefully small degree it may be as yet, but if that love has even found a root for itself in their heart, it will grow and ultimately rule.

More than this the fresh clean raiment given in exchange of the filthy garments can hardly mean. Yet more than this we naturally crave. We may be freed from guilt, from liability to punishment, and we may have present purity of purpose and of inclination; but there remains the painful remembrance of past defilement. Life as it passes leaves indelible traces. It writes itself even on the features of the face. Suffering does so. There are faces you cannot look at without thinking of the long experience of bodily pain or mental anxiety or bereavement which has ploughed those furrows in them. Trace one of those furrows back to its first beginnings and what a continuance of suffering must you pass through. And so it is with vice. It writes itself on the face; and if you would account for that shame-

faced look, that wandering averted eye, that loose mouth or bloated face, that hard, cruel expression, you must pass through a long series of sins that have stained all the past, hardening the once reluctant and compunctious sinner into a reckless profligate, wearing out all strength of will by self-indulgence, and narrowing the spirit till nothing but what is sordid and petty can find a place in it.

And deeper than the features of the face has the past written itself upon us. God assures us we are forgiven, and we believe Him; but no assurance can make us forget what we have done and what we have been. Nor can any present freedom from actual transgression nor any present superiority to inward evil, make us satisfied with our past. On the contrary, the more entirely we are possessed by right ideas and right feelings, the more thoroughly hateful do we seem to ourselves to have been. And as we begin to estimate more justly the true character of our past life, the remembrance of it becomes intolerable. The higher we rise above our past the more clearly do we see its proportions and true bearings. The more entirely dissociated from it in spirit we become, the more keenly do we feel its inexhaustible malignity. Let any man give free play to his memory, and let conscience travel through the contents of that memory and pronounce upon them; let him fairly weigh and consider his selfish actions, the cruelty and meanness of them; let him consider his love of pleasure, the vileness and wrong-doing it has led him into; let him think of the persons he has been connected with and had to do with, how many grave injustices he has unwittingly done them, how he has let their interests suffer that his own might thrive, how intercourse with him has lowered their spiritual tone or even stained them with dark sin, on what a low level he has lived, and what poor and often vile purposes he has harboured; let him lay out his whole life before him and pronounce upon it as if it were the life of

another, and he will feel that until that past be somehow wiped out he must be pursued by feelings of the profoundest regret and shame, if not of self-loathing.

But what is to deliver us from this memory? Are we to forget in heaven, if not in this life, what we have here been? Are we to engage so actively and constantly in present duties that the past shall find no opening to intrude itself? We have no right to forget. We have no right to banish from our minds those who are for all we know still and for ever suffering from the results of our sin. We have no right to turn aside from the evil we have done. It is part of the work of grace to shed a strong light upon our life and to disclose to us its actual colours and proportions. And it is only the weakness of a shallow nature or the artifice of a self-indulgent temperament, to treat the evil we have done as if it were not and had never been. It is difficult to see how even in eternity peace of mind can be perfect. Reparation may be made, the actual injuries we have done may be amended, but nothing can obliterate the fact that we did these wrongs, and apparently we must for ever live under the shame and regret that must and ought to accompany memories such as ours. Nothing that can now be done can make it cease to be true that we have proved ourselves selfish, cruelly thoughtless, shameful and vile transgressors. The deep abasement which possesses us in our moments of clearest insight must, for all that we can see, possess us in eternity as well. Part of the equipment of a perfected soul must be a perfect candour which can look steadily at the actual state of matters, and a perfect justice which will strongly condemn and bewail wrong-doing.

How then can we promise ourselves happiness if these memories are to continue with us? Would not many of us almost prefer annihilation to the prospect of living for ever with a constantly-increasing sense of the natural weakness

and hatefulness of our character? If every increase to our moral stature and all improvement in our spiritual health must give us a deepening conviction of our own depravity, is not this too painful a price to pay? How many of us can remember hours when we were almost maddened by the thought of our own folly and wickedness, when we went for days and weeks with all life made dark and desperate to us through the consciousness of our own sin. If such hours are to become more frequent, how can eternity be tolerable, not to say happy?

It may be replied that we should in the first place be content with our prospects if we can look forward to an amended life in which we shall have ample opportunity to give proof that we no longer are what we once were. The shame and burden of the past may to many seem quite incompatible with happiness; they may feel convinced that a memory such as they bear carries misery with it inseparably; they may question whether it would not be more satisfactory to cease altogether than to live on so burdened and embittered. Still even such persons must acknowledge that the worthier part to choose is to live on, seeking to do good as formerly we have done evil, gladly accepting a life which gives promise of good. Ashamed and cut to the heart we may be with the memory of the past; for all that we can see our happiness must be dimmed and disturbed, but our happiness is not the first consideration, and ends even more to be desired may yet be achieved by us.

And if memory cannot ever be emptied of its contents, and if there is nothing that can sweeten these contents and make them other than most bitter to us, there is at least a present purity to be found in Christ. "Now ye are clean," He says to His disciples "through the word that I have spoken unto you." Seeking in integrity of heart to be conformed to the best we know, resolutely turning away from all evil and setting our faces honestly towards what is

perfectly pleasing to God, we are filled with the peace and joy that reconciliation to God and purity of conscience bring. Present purity of conscience only in part effaces the shameful past, but if it is all that in the nature of things can be accomplished, we rest satisfied with this and breathe a new air, the air of an emancipated and hopeful life.

The reason assigned by God for dismissing Satan's accusation of Joshua has caught the ear and the heart and has become one of the most familiar quotations from this book: "Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" Arising like other proverbial expressions from the colloquial speech of the people, it vividly depicts the eagerness with which a valuable is snatched from imminent destruction, as a man snatches from the fire the bank-note he had thought was a piece of waste paper, or the letter from which he had forgotten to copy an address or an expression. In every such case it is obvious that the rescued article has a special value to the rescuer, and is reserved for some further use. The marks of burning, the unsightly blackened edges, the portions awanting, the ruined and wrecked look of the remaining fragment, tell us not only of the narrow escape and not at all of the worthlessness of the article, but rather of its worth to him who interposed to rescue it from the flames. It tells us of some purpose the owner means it yet to serve. So here Satan's malignant exposure of the marks of fire on Joshua is out of place. Why is he here at all? says the Lord. Is it not because I have chosen and rescued him, charred as he is, that he may serve My purposes? I have chosen Jerusalem.

This then is the conclusion we are to draw if, in surveying our past life, we cannot but be struck with the narrowness of our escape from certain dangers. We see that in many instances things were not allowed to run on to their natural issues with us, but that we were snatched from consequences which destroyed other men. Blackened by the smoke,

charred by the fire we were, but not consumed. We formed habits or we were forming habits which we know have destroyed others. We ventured upon practices or single acts which in many cases known to ourselves have produced the most disastrous results. As young men we formed companionships which commonly end in social disgrace, moral degradation, and a wasted life. In others we have seen the terrible consequences which often flow from one mistake, from one unguarded action, from a single day's folly, from the reckless passion of an hour; we have been guilty of similar carelessness, and yet have only partially felt the consequences. We have been charred but not consumed.

Most thankful should he be who has thus been rescued. It is true, he finds he is not the man he was. He is to a greater or less extent a wreck. He has introduced into his character weaknesses which pain and shame him all his days. He has memories which now and again sting him. He cannot live the strong, straightforward, fearless life of the innocent. In every part of his life he meets the stain of his sin. But when he is dismayed by these traces of the past, when he finds with what disadvantages he has weighted himself, when he recognises how much of life he has shut himself out from, and how many pure and high enjoyments he is now incapable of, and how many of the highest parts in life he can never play; when he sees that he is half-consumed and the remainder blackened and crumbling, he must yet recognise in the very fact of his rescue evidence that God designs him yet for some good purpose. When tempted to put away all hope, he must listen to the voice of this vision rebuking his accuser: "The Lord that hath chosen him rebuke thee, O Satan; is he not a brand plucked from the burning?"

MARCUS DODS.

CHRISTUS CONSUMMATOR :

LESSONS FROM THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

V. THE NEW COVENANT.

“Now hath He obtained a ministry the more excellent, by how much also He is the Mediator of a better covenant, which hath been enacted upon better promises.”—HEB. viii. 6 (Rev. Ver.).

“We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.”—HEB. xiii. 10 (Rev. Ver.).

THE attitude of a Christian is, as we have seen, twofold. It is an attitude of attainment, and an attitude of expectancy. He has been admitted to fellowship with the unseen order in the fulness of its infinite grandeur; and he is looking for the open manifestation of the victorious Presence of his Lord. This inspiring faith, this far-reaching hope, are bound together for each one of us by the obligation of personal duty. Each one of us has a work to do in that infinite kingdom of God which is opened to our entrance. Each one of us is charged in his measure to hasten the full revelation of its glory. We look through the temporal to the eternal. But for the present we have to live our little lives under the conditions of earth. We strive to gain the largest vision of the Divine counsels, to feel the intense reality of our connexion with the world about us, to watch in thought the stream of consequence which flows from our actions; and then strengthened and humbled we go back as it were into the shrine of our own souls, and know that in that last depth of being we are alone with God. We are alone, and yet not alone, for there also Christ is with us, Christ the Fulfiller, to bring to its true perfection the fragment of service which answer to our powers. He not only bore His blood, the virtue of His offered life, into heaven for the salvation of the nature which He had taken to Himself, but He applies it personally to

each believer on earth, to purify and to sustain, to begin and to complete that union with Himself for which man was made.

As the Hebrews grasped this truth which the Apostle set before them, they could not fail to find that what they had lost by their exclusion from the commonwealth of Israel was given back to them in fact, and not in figure. As Israelites they had rejoiced from early youth to enter the court of God's house; as Israelites, they had known in maturer age every consolation of the appointed sacrifices. But now, when they entered little by little into the meaning of the Gospel, they saw that they were become partakers in a better covenant than that made with their fathers, in a better sacrifice than those which the Law established, "partakers in Christ," "partakers in the Holy Ghost." They were indeed, what Israel was designed to be, a nation of priests. The offering for the people's sin was for them given back as the support of life.

The lessons which were thus taught, taught most impressively through the symbols of the Old Testament, to men tried by the sorrows of the first age, are for us also. The individual soul as it turns to God requires to be assured of the personal right of approach to Him, and then of the power of continuous fellowship with Him. This assurance is given to us in a form suited to the circumstances of our life in the two Sacraments of the Gospel—the Sacrament of Incorporation, and the Sacrament of Support. In these we have, according to our need, the revelation of our union with Christ and the revelation of His impartment of Himself to us.

But we cannot fail to be struck by the way in which the writer of the Epistle deals with these Sacraments. We should have expected that he would contrast them in their significant forms with the typical Levitical rites

to which they answered; that he would show how even outwardly the Christian has in them far more sure seals of God's grace than the Jew; that he would point out that what was necessarily limited and local in the old dispensation had been made universal in the new. As it is, he barely touches on the external element of the Christian Sacraments. It lies behind his teaching; but he strives above all things to fix the thoughts of his readers upon the ascended Christ who works through the Sacraments, lest they should rest in ritual observances, and faint or fail in the effort to gain a closer personal fellowship with Him.

There are, however, two remarkable passages which enable the student to perceive, as I have already indicated, the deep meaning of the Mystical Washing, and of the festal meal of the Eucharist. *Let us draw near*—near to the Holy place—the Apostle writes, *with a true heart in fulness of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our body washed with pure water.* And again, *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.*

The first passage shows that by our covenant rite we are made not only a people of God, but also priests of God.

The second passage shows that while the sin-offering in the Day of Atonement was wholly consumed by fire, our common sin-offering is made our common peace-offering, our Eucharist, a Feast upon a Sacrifice.

Twice only in the Pentateuch is mention made of the sprinkling of the blood of sacrifices upon men; once at the solemn ratification of the covenant when, the people were united to the Lord; and once when Aaron and his sons were hallowed for the priesthood. In the latter case the sprinkling with blood was united with a washing with water. Here then we have the complete parallel with the words of the Epistle. To a Jew familiar with the

Mosaic record, their meaning was distinct and decisive. They set forth that the Christian is made, as I said, not only a citizen of the Divine kingdom, but also a priest of God; that for him access to heaven is open; that he has boldness to offer the sacrifices of word and deed; that he accepts the duty of consecration.

The interpretation of the second passage which I have quoted has been disputed, but I think that the general sense is clear. The writer is meeting a difficulty found in the supposition that Christians had not what the Jews had. *We have*, he replies *an altar*, an altar with a victim, for the two are not separated, *whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle*. We have, that is, more, infinitely more, than the Law allowed to those who ministered to figures of the eternal truth. We have Christ crucified, Christ upon the Cross, a victim and an altar, a victim who suffered for the world without the camp, and who then, marvel of marvels, gave and gives Himself for ever as the support of His people in a Holy Eucharist. No priest in old time ever tasted such an offering. But He who died for us lives for us. He who bore our sins gives us of the fulness of His strength. And, to go one step further, on Him and in Him we can bring to God the sacrifice of ourselves.

So then, we repeat, our covenant rite, our Baptism, brings us into a personal relation to Christ. No one stands between the believer and the Lord. Our Sacrificial Feast, our Eucharist, offers to us the virtue of Christ's life and death, His Flesh and Blood, for the strengthening and cleansing of our bodies and souls.

Let us look at these thoughts a little more closely.

As baptized, confirmed Christians, priests of God, we can come directly to the Father. No earthly symbol, no mortal representative, intervenes any longer as the necessary means through which we may draw near.

As baptized and confirmed Christians, priests of God, we can offer up to Him a sacrifice of praise and active love, the natural fruit of hearts touched with His grace. No fear checks the thanksgiving which is the echo of His word. No weakness stays the effort which is the answer to His summons.

As baptized, confirmed Christians, priests of God, we acknowledge that we are "*holy, partakers of a heavenly calling,*" dedicated to God without reserve, *bearing branded* upon us, in St. Paul's vivid image, *the marks of Jesus*, as bondmen devoted to His perpetual service.

But while this is so; while nothing can alter the responsibility which is laid upon each soul, and which we have voluntarily acknowledged; while we must severally, as if there were none other, draw near to God and bring Him the offering of ourselves, and acknowledge the debt which is as large as life; our approach, our sacrifice, our dedication, are all *in Christ*. Not one step, not one act, not one confession, can be made without Him. *We are become partakers of Christ*. That is the gift of God. And while the Epistle recognises, as we have seen, the priesthood of Christians, this human priesthood falls almost out of sight before the supreme fact of the priesthood of Christ. Our common priestly work is done only through Him. *Through Him we offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually*. Our will makes it our own. His co-operation makes it acceptable.

We are become partakers of Christ, if, it is added, we hold fast the beginning of our confidence firm unto the end. A Divine fact, such is the paradox of life, is made dependent on human endeavour. We can see then how the institution of the Eucharist meets the sad sense of infirmity and failure. Our covenant rite cannot from its nature ever be repeated. But we know how often and how grievously we have fallen short of our obligation. Is the covenant

then, we are driven to ask, fatally broken? When the fear rises before us, we recall, almost regretfully, the provisions which men have made, with or without the sanction of God, to bring, through sacrifice peace to the troubled conscience. While we do so, the Apostle lifts up our thoughts to the Lord, Crucified, Risen, Seated at the right hand of the Father, and in the light of that vision of *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day, yea, and for ever*, we can say triumphantly, *We have an altar*. All that the consolatory ceremonial of the Old Dispensation accomplished for Israel, all that men have sought to make clear to themselves by vain speculations and worldly forms, is ours in spiritual and abiding simplicity. *We have an altar* wherein the truths which were represented by the sacrificial system of the Law are realised in a living verity. *We have an altar*, whereon we can lay "ourselves, our souls and bodies," a reasonable service.

Once again then we are brought to Christ the Fulfiller—*Christus Consummator*—in whom each believer finds the root and the accomplishment of his individual destiny.

So, we have reached the limit which we set to ourselves. We have dared to look upon great trials in the light of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and we have seen that the help which availed the Hebrews in the first age is sufficient for us.

We have looked upon suffering, and we have seen that by the will of God suffering is for fallen man the way to perfection. We cannot indeed, with our feeble sight, discern how this or that sorrow and shame contributes to the end; but disciplined in patience, we can leave in the Father's hands the fulfilment of His own law which we have recognised, and for our part labour to hasten that issue.

We have looked upon failure and weakness, and we have seen that Christ, as He accomplished the destiny of man on earth, pleads the cause of man in heaven with unflinching

compassion and absolute sovereignty, uniting the offices of priest and king, perfect man and perfect God.

We have looked upon the sad spectacle of divided Christendom, and we have seen that by the ascension of Christ we are brought into a spiritual fellowship, in which the powers of heaven and earth are united, a fellowship transcending every test of sense; and from the contemplation of notes of that universal communion, we have learnt to keep hope fresh while we guard with watchful reverence the convictions which separate us in the sphere of visible work.

We have looked upon the chequered course of the individual life, and we have seen that for each one of us is provided that objective assurance of our right of approach to God which is the solid foundation of religion, that objective assurance of the renewed gift of Christ's flesh and blood, which is able to sustain and to purify us in the effort to reach His likeness.

At every prospect of great trial, as we dwelt patiently upon it, we have seen the figure of Christ to rise above the darkness—of Christ the Fulfiller—not only to give comfort, but to enlarge hope, not only to support the sufferer under the pressure of transitory affliction, but to show to the believing soul that, in a world such as this,

“Failure is but a triumph's evidence
For the fulness of the days.”

And we have seen all this, so far as we have been allowed to see it, by entering a little more closely than is commonly done into the difficulties of a troubled congregation of the apostolic times. Thus we have found that the words of the inspired writer who guided the Hebrews to higher things, speak to us with the directness and the power of life. We have found on a narrow field of inquiry what the Bible is: an interpretation of the eternal, intelligible to every man

through all time in the language in which he was born. We have found that nothing has befallen us which our fathers have not borne victoriously in other shapes and made fruitful in blessing. We have found, I think, that to those who will raise their eyes to Christ the Fulfiller, the Revelation of the Father, made known to us more completely from generation to generation by the Holy Spirit, nothing in human experience can come as an unwelcome surprise. He, Son of man, Son of God, will bear, He has borne, though we see it not through the mist of days and years, all things to their goal, *Christus Consummator*.

Such thoughts carry with them a grave, a noble responsibility. The character of a generation is moulded by personal character. And if we have considered some of the temptations of the first Christians; if we know a little of the terrible environment of evil by which they were encircled; we must not, as we too often do, forget how they conquered the world. It was not by any despairing withdrawal from city and market; not by any proud isolation in selfish security; not by any impatient violence; but by the winning influence of gracious faith, they mastered the family, the school, the empire. They were a living Gospel, a message of God's good-will to those with whom they toiled and suffered. Pure among the self-indulgent, loving among the factious, tender among the ruthless, meek among the vainglorious, firm in faith amidst the shaking of nations, joyous in hope amidst the sorrows of a corrupt society, they revealed to men their true destiny and showed that it could be attained. They appealed boldly to the awakened conscience as the advocate of their claims. They taught as believing that He who had stirred their heart with a great desire would assuredly satisfy it.

They offered not in word but in deed, the ideal of spiritual devotion, and "the soul naturally Christian," turned to it as the flower turns to the light, drew from it, as

the flower draws from the light, the richness of perfect beauty.

Yes; that was the secret of their success; and it is the secret of our success. The words are true now as they were when addressed by Zechariah to the poor remnant of Jews struggling to rebuild their outward temple: *Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.* Not first by material change, not by intellectual culture, but by spiritual sympathy will our work be done. Let us take to ourselves the charge of our Epistle, the counsel of Divine fellowship—fellowship with God and man, fellowship with man in God. *Let us draw near unto the throne of grace. . . Let us hold fast the confession of our hope. . . Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and good works,* and it shall not be long said that the victories of faith are ended.

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT.

THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD
TESTAMENT.

THE SECOND BOOK OF SAMUEL.

i. 18. The song of *the bow*. This, if the text is sound, is the most probable explanation of the phrase לְלִמֵּד בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה קֶשֶׁת, *to teach the children of Judah [the] bow*. David's elegy was called *the bow*, from the mention of Jonathan's bow in v. 22; and it was to be taught to the people in order that the memory of Saul and Jonathan might be handed down to posterity. Cf. Deut. xxxi. 19; Ps. lx. title. The A.V. follows the Targum in explaining the phrase to refer to the practice of archery; but this is improbable, as the bow was already in general use, and such a direction would be out of place here. The word τόξον is however

absent from the Vatican MS. of the LXX., and it is possible that the word קָשֶׁת should be struck out, and the clause read simply "and he bade them teach it to the children of Judah." Wellhausen ingeniously conjectures that the original reading in *v.* 6 for בעלי פרשים was פרשים, that בעלי קשת was written in the margin as an emendation, to accord with 1 Sam. xxxi. 3, and the text standing in parallel columns, בעלי was inserted in *v.* 6, and קשת in *v.* 18. Ewald's explanation that קָשֶׁת = קִשְׁט, *accurately*, and Thenius' emendation, קָשֶׁב, *heedfully*, have little to be said in their favour.

14. זָבִי may mean *glory*, or as in the margin, *gazelle*; and Ewald (*Hist.* iii. 30), adopting the latter rendering, infers that Jonathan's "personal beauty and swiftness of foot in attack or retreat had gained for him the name of *The Gazelle*." Asahel is compared to a gazelle (*wild roe*) in chap. ii. 18; cf. Cant. ii. 9; and the figure of the gazelle stricken by the hunters on its native hills would be an exceedingly beautiful one. But as the elegy celebrates both Saul and Jonathan, the opening word should include both, and the rendering in the text is preferable. It is moreover supported by the parallelism of "the mighty" in the second hemistich.

21. *Not anointed with oil.* The R.V. refers the epithet בְּשֶׁטֶן בְּקִשְׁיָהּ to Saul's shield. It describes it as it lay rusting and uncared for on the fatal field, instead of being polished and prepared for use. For the practice of anointing shields, cf. Isa. xxi. 5. But the rendering of the A.V. which comes down from Coverdale, and is derived from the Vulg. *quasi non esset unctus oleo*, is still retained in the margin as worthy of consideration, on the ground that קִשְׁיָהּ is elsewhere always applied to a person. It gives an excellent sense. The shield of the Lord's anointed is flung away, as though he had not been distinguished by any mark of consecration.

8. *Had taken for took.* In all probability he had done it immediately after the battle of Gilboa and before the events related in *vs.* 1-7.

iii. 8. *Am I a dog's head that belongeth to Judah?* i.e. utterly despicable and an enemy to your cause. The words אשר ליהודה are omitted by the LXX., but if genuine, they must be taken as a definition of ראש כלב. ליהודה cannot be translated as in A.V. following Coverdale and the Genevan, *against Judah*. This rendering is taken from the Vulg., which however transposes the words from the relative clause: "Numquid caput canis ego sum adversus Judam hodie qui," etc.; i.e. "Am I a worthless defender of your cause against Judah?"

iv. 2. *And Ishbosheth, Saul's son, had two men.* A most obvious example of the way in which scribes tampered with the text in early times. The name *Esh-baal* was, as is well known, changed to *Ish-bosheth*, to avoid the scandal of pronouncing the name of Baal. But here, as in *v.* 1, and also in iii. 7, the name was not changed, but struck out altogether; and in this case it has carried with it the preposition ל which expresses *had* (lit. "there were to *Ishbosheth*. . . . הָיוּ לְאִישׁ בִּשְׁת . . . וּשְׁנַי אַנְשִׁים), making havoc of the grammar. In all three cases the name is retained in the LXX.

6. Margin. While it is quite true, as the defenders of the Massoretic text urge, that it is characteristic of Hebrew historical writing to state a fact in general terms, and then to repeat the statement with further details (cf. iii. 22, 23; *v.* 1, 3), the double account of *Ish-bosheth's* murder in *vs.* 6 and 7, is certainly surprising, and the entirely different reading of the LXX. casts additional suspicion on the Hebrew text. The reading of the LXX. can hardly be mere conjecture or corruption, and it gives a clear explanation how the murderers got in and out unobserved. The employment of the portress is illustrated by the customs of

modern Palestine, where women are constantly to be seen sitting at their doors sifting wheat. See Neil's *Palestine Explored*, p. 246.

v. 6. *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* To the present writer the rendering retained in the text, which has come down from Matthew's Bible, *i.e.* from Tyndale, appears to offer no satisfactory sense, and to involve serious grammatical difficulties. הָסִירָךְ must be taken as infin. though it is pointed as perfect, and כִּי אִם requires a finite verb. It is however the rendering of the Vulg. (*non ingredieris huc nisi abstuleris cecos et claudos*), Syr., and (substantially) the Targ., and was adopted by Rashi and Kimchi, and after them by Münster and others. The marginal rendering, on the other hand, which is given, though in a loose form, by the LXX., presents no grammatical difficulty. The verb preceding its subject stands, as often, in the singular; and the perfect tense הָסִירָךְ expresses the confidence of the Jebusites. So secure did they feel in the natural strength of their fortress, as to boast that a garrison of blind and lame would be able to repel David's assault. So Luther; and probably following him, Coverdale: "Thou shalt not come hither but the blynde and lame shal drive y^e awaie."

8. The A.V. of this most obscure passage, which involves the transposition of the first two clauses, and the supplement of an apodosis from 1 Chron. xi. 6, is not defensible. Probably the *watercourse* was some ravine by which it was possible to scale the citadel, and David calls the Jebusite garrison *blind and lame*, derisively retorting their own words. *That are hated* is the K'ri, שְׂנֵאִי: *that hate* is the C'thib שְׂנֵאֵי, which must be taken as a relative clause.

They say for they said. The imperfect tense יֹאמְרוּ shows that the words which follow are a proverb in current use.

Cf. 1 Sam. xix. 24. So Coverdale: "Hereof cometh the prouerbe." The rendering of the A.V. appears to follow the interpretation given by the LXX. and Vulg., that *the house* means the Temple, from which the blind and lame were excluded. But apart from the fact that it is by no means clear that they were excluded, this explanation takes no account of the origin of the proverb. The most probable meaning of the words as rendered in the R.V. is that the taunt of the Jebusites came to be used as a proverb with reference to impregnable strongholds.

21. *Took them away.* Similarly Coverdale correctly, *carried thē awaye.* The A.V. follows the Targum in rendering *burned them*, in accordance with the different reading of 1 Chron. xiv. 12; but וַיִּשְׂאֵם cannot bear this meaning, though some Jewish commentators endeavour to find it in the word. The rendering probably originated in the fear lest it should seem that David disobeyed the law of Deut. vii. 5. But the two statements are not incompatible.

vi. 5. *Castanets for cornets.* The etymology of מְנַעְנְעִים shows that it must denote some instrument which was played by being shaken. *Sistra* (marg.), i.e. σείστρα, is an exact equivalent for the word, and the instrument may have been similar to the Egyptian instrument so named, which consisted of rings hung on iron rods. (See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 497.)

17. *Tent.* So A.V. rightly for אֹהֶל in the parallel passage 1 Chron. xv. 1.

19. *A portion of flesh, marg. of wine.* The precise meaning of אֶשְׁפָּר, which occurs only here and in 1 Chron. xvi. 3, is uncertain. It is probably derived from a root not in use in Hebrew, meaning *to measure*. The A.V., *a good piece of flesh*, connects it with שֹׁפָר *splenduit*, but this is unlikely.

vii. 19. *And this too after the manner of men:* i.e. Thou dost condescend to speak familiarly with me, as man speaks

to man. This rendering, which is adopted by Gesenius, Maurer, Thenius, and others, gives a good sense: but though the analogy of *מִשְׁפָּט* may be quoted, *תּוֹרָה* nowhere else bears this meaning. The literal rendering of the words is accordingly given in the margin. Cf. Coverdale, *Is this the lawe of men?* The emphasis is on *man*, and the words are best understood as an expression of humble surprise, that God has vouchsafed to grant to human beings such as himself and his posterity, a perpetual dominion. The text in Chron. is quite different.

23. *What one nation, etc.* The order of the words is in favour of the marginal rendering, which lays stronger emphasis on the uniqueness and separateness of Israel's position in the world. *אֶחָד . . . כִּי* may, however, be taken together as in the text.

It is difficult to believe that the text of the latter part of the verse is sound. The only tenable explanation of *לָכֶם*, *for you*, is that David "with oratorical vivacity addresses the people"; but such an address is out of place in a prayer; and it seems best either to omit the word altogether, with the LXX., or to read *לָהֶם* *for them*, with the Vulgate. Further, *לְאַרְצֶךָ*, *for thy land*, comes in awkwardly, and the government of *גּוֹיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי* by repeating the preposition from *כְּמִצְרַיִם* is not satisfactory: and the reading of 1 Chron. xvii. 21 *לְגִרְשׁ*, together with that of the LXX. here *τοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν σε*, points to the substitution of *לְגִרְשׁ* for *לְאַרְצֶךָ*, and *אֱלֹהִים* for *אֱלֹהֵי*. The clause will then run as follows: "To do for them great and terrible things, in driving out from before thy people which thou redeemedst to thee out of Egypt, nations and gods."

27. Marg. *been bold*. So the Genevan. The literal rendering is *found his heart*; and *heart* in Hebrew, as in English, frequently denotes *courage*.

viii. 1. *David took the bridle of the mother city out of the hand of the Philistines*: i.e. wrested the control of their

metropolis from them; a poetical equivalent for the prosaic statement in 1 Chron. xviii. 1, that David "took Gath and her towns out of the hand of the Philistines." This is the best explanation of an obscure phrase for which numerous interpretations have been proposed. Though אִמָּה does not occur elsewhere in the sense of *mother city*, the idea was a familiar one. Cf. 2 Sam. xx. 19, and the use of בָּנוֹת, *daughters*, for dependent towns in Chron. l.c. and commonly.

3. *The River*, i.e. the Euphrates. The word פְּרַת is not in the C'thib or written text, but is inserted in the K'ri or traditional read text, which the A.V. follows.

4. *A thousand and seven hundred horsemen*. The text as it stands can mean nothing else. *Chariots* of A.V. is introduced from 1 Chron. xviii. 4, but this correction leaves the discrepancy of the numbers untouched, and a larger force of chariots than of cavalry is most unlikely. The reading of the LXX. agrees with that of Chron., "a thousand chariots and seven thousand horsemen," and may perhaps be right.

13. *The Syrians*. Note the margin. The text as it stands cannot be right. For *Syrians* we must read *Edomites*, or else insert from the LXX. after *Syrians*, "and he smote the *Edomites*." אַרַם, *Aram*, and אֶדוֹם, *Edom*, are constantly confused. The context requires a reference to Edom; the Valley of Salt was in the neighbourhood of Edom, not of Syria (2 Kings xiv. 7); 1 Chron. xviii. 11, 12, and the title of Ps. lx., support the change.

18. *Was over the Cherethites*. The margin calls attention to the fact that the words *was over* must be supplied from the parallel passages in chap. xx. 23 and 1 Chron. xviii. 17. The text as it stands gives no sense.

18. *Priests for chief rulers*. The Hebrew word פְּהָנִים is exactly the same as that applied in v. 17 to Zadok and Ahimelech. Similarly in chap. xx. 26, Ira the Jairite appears, in addition to the priests Zadok and Abiathar, as

“*priest* (A.V. *chief ruler*) unto David;” and in the list of Solomon’s officers in 1 Kings iv. 5, Zabud the son of Nathan is styled “*priest* and the king’s friend.” The A.V. and before it the Genevan in translating *chief rulers*, followed the paraphrase in 1 Chron. xviii. 17, “chief about the king”; the version of the LXX., ἀυλάρχαι, *courtiers*; the Targum, רברבין, *princes*; and the Syriac, which has the same word, ܩܘܕܫܐ: but the Vulg., Luther and Coverdale render *priests*. Coverdale adds a marginal note “*Some reade: rulers.*” Whether the offices were identical, and Wellhausen’s inference that David “exercised unfettered control . . . over the appointment of the priests, who were merely his officials” (*History of Israel*, E. T., p. 132), is sound, or whether the explanation suggested in Chronicles, that in certain cases the word פְּהִיִּים means *ministers* in a civil capacity, is correct, is an exegetical and historical question which cannot be discussed here.

x. 6. *The king of Maacah* for *king Maacah*. Though Maacah was a common man’s name, there is no doubt that a small Syrian kingdom in the neighbourhood of Geshur is here meant. The A.V. renders it correctly in 1 Chron. xix. 6, 7.

Men of Tob for *Ish-Tob*. Cf. Jud. xi. 3.

xii. 30. *Their king*, marg. *Malcam*. There can be little doubt that in Jer. xlix. 1, 3, and Zeph. i. 5, מַלְכָם, *Malcam*, is a variant form of the name of the Ammonite god, Molech or Milcom. And it may be so here. The pronoun *their* comes in awkwardly; and the original LXX. probably took it as a proper name Μολχόμ, though the gloss τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν was subsequently added. A Jewish tradition, recorded in the Talmud (*Aboda Zara*, f. 24a), and in the *Questiones Hebraicæ in libros Paralipomenon*, attributed to Jerome but certainly spurious (ed. Vallarsi, iii. 873), tells how the crown was snatched from the idol’s head by Ittai the Gittite, because a Hebrew might not take spoil from an idol, though

he might receive it from another man's hand! It seems, however, more natural that the *king's* crown should have been placed on David's head, and the rendering in the text on the whole deserves the preference.

31. Margin: "put them to saws, and to harrows of iron, and to axes of iron, and made them labour at (העביר ה העביר) the brickmould": i.e. condemned them to various forms of hard labour. It would be a relief if this milder view of David's treatment of the Ammonites could be taken, but the rendering in the text probably gives the right sense. It is true that וישם במגרה does not strictly mean *put them under saws*, but *put them on or at saws*; and we should probably read as in 1 Chron. xx. 3 וישר, and he sawed for וישם, with the Targum, Thenius, Wellhausen, Keil, etc.

xiii. 18. *A garment of divers colours*, marg. *a long garment with sleeves*. The term כְּתֹנֶת פְּסִים occurs only here and in Gen. xxxvii. 3, 23. It is explained, (1) from Aram. פֶּס = *piece or patch*, to mean *a patchwork or variegated tunic*. So the LXX. in Genesis χιτῶν ποικίλος; Vulg. *tunica polymita*: or (2) from פֶּס = *palm of the hand or sole of the foot*, to mean *a tunic with sleeves and reaching down to the feet*. So the LXX. here χιτῶν καρπωτός, Vulg. *tunica talaris*. The latter explanation is adopted by almost all modern commentators, but seems to have been thought by the Revisers not sufficiently certain to displace the rendering in the A.V. It certainly, however, suits the context best.

xiv. 14. *Neither doth God take away life*. So וְלֹא יִשָּׂא אֱלֹהִים נַפְשׁ must be rendered. The woman urges David to be merciful as God is merciful, who does not immediately punish the sinner with death, but rather strives to win him to repentance. There is a pointed allusion to David's own case (chap. xii. 13). The older versions of Coverdale and Matthew rightly, "and God will not take away the lyfe":

Great Bible, "neither doth God spare any soule": Geneva and Bishops', "neither doth God spare any person."

xv. 7. The "ancient authorities" which read *four* instead of *forty* are the LXX. according to Lucian's recension (*see* De Lagarde's ed.), the Syriac, the Arabic, and Vulg. (ed. Sixt.); Josephus, *Ant.*, vi. 9. 1; Theodoret, *Quæst in Reg.*, p. 433. Internal evidence is strongly in favour of *four*. The only obvious *terminus a quo* in the context is Absalom's reconciliation to his father; and forty years could hardly have passed since then.

12. The marg. *sent Ahithophel* is the grammatical rendering of the Heb. אֶת-אֲחִיתָפֶל . . וַיִּשְׁלַח. But what can this mean? The context seems to require some alteration of the text which will give the meaning *sent for*. Vulg. *accersivit*. LXX. (some MSS.) ἀπέστειλε καὶ ἐκάλεσε, *sent and called*.

17. Whether *Beth-merhak* is retained as a proper name, or translated *the Far House*, some definite place is meant outside the city before the road crossed the Kidron; and the correct rendering brings out one of the graphic details which abound in this narrative of David's flight.

28. *At the fords of the wilderness*, בְּעֵבְרוֹת הַמְדָבָר, is the C'thib; *in the plains of the wilderness*, בְּעֵרְבוֹת הַמְדָבָר, is the K'ri. There is the same variation in chap. xvii. 16, where the context is decidedly in favour of the reading *fords*; and some definite place rather than a large district would naturally have been fixed upon for the messenger to meet David. All the Versions, however, support the K'ri.

xvi. 10. *Because he curseth, and because, etc.* The R.V. renders the C'thib, בִּי יִקְלַל יְוָ; the A.V. follows the K'ri, בָּהּ יִקְלַל בִּי.

12. *On the wrong done unto me.* A.V. *affliction*, marg. *tears*, Heb. *eye*, following the K'ri, בְּעֵינֵי. So the Targum. But such a meaning of עֵין is unsupported. R.V. follows the C'thib בְּעֵינֵי, and takes the suffix objectively, as in קָלַלְתִּי

in the second half of the verse. But LXX., Vulg., Syr., point to the reading *בְּעֵנָי*, *on my affliction*, which is probably right.

For his cursing of me, reading *קָלַלְתִּי* with the C'thib. A.V. follows the K'ri, *קָלַלְתוּ*. The variation is not recognised in some editions of the Hebrew text.

14. *Weary*. If *עֵיפִים* is rendered *weary*, the sentence is incomplete. The mention of some place, to which *there* at the end of the verse may be referred, is required. Hence the marginal alternative to *Ayephim*, taking *עֵיפִים* as the name of a place. So far as the form of the word is concerned this is quite possible (cf. *בְּחִירִים*, *Bahurim*); but no such place is mentioned elsewhere, and it is possible that the name of the place has fallen out of the text.

xvii. 3. The Massoretic text of this verse is suspicious, and the various reading of the LXX. might well have found a place in the margin. "And I will bring back all the people unto thee, as a bride returneth to her husband; thou seekest the life of one man only, and all the people shall be in peace."

17. The A.V. neglects the tenses and unwarrantably transposes the clauses in this verse. It may be taken as in the text, as the historian's parenthetical statement of the way in which news was conveyed to David; the verbs *והלכה* and *והגידו* being regarded as frequentative: *used to go and tell them; and they would go and tell*, etc. (cf. Prof. Driver's *Tenses*, § 120). In this case the events since Absalom's entry must be supposed to have occupied some days, during which communications were kept up. Or it may be taken, as in the margin, as a continuation of Hushai's words to Zadok and Abiathar.

25. *Ithra the Israelite*. It is hard to see why *Ithra* should be specially designated *the Israelite*, and the true reading is probably that given in the margin from 1 Chron. ii. 17, *the Ishmaelite*. So the LXX. (cod. A but not cod. B)

here. *Ithra*, יְתֵרָא, and *Jether*, יֵתֶר, are of course only different forms of the same name. ὁ Ἰεζραηλῆτις in common text which follows B.

xviii. 13. *His life*, נַפְשִׁי, C'thib: marg. and A.V. *my life*, נַפְשִׁי, K'ri. *Wouldest have stood aloof*, marg. *wouldest have set thyself against me*. הַתִּיצַב כִּנְגַד, *to stand over against*, may denote an attitude either of indifference, or of hostility. Cf. Obad. 11:

21. *The Cushite for Cush*. The def. article shows that כּוֹשִׁי is not a personal name, as in Zeph. i. 1, but a gentile name. He was an Ethiopian slave in attendance on Joab. Cf. Jer. xxxviii. 7.

29. *The king's servant, even me thy servant*. The epexe-gesis of אֶת־עֶבְדְּךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ by וְאֶת־עֶבְדְּךָ is meaningless. On the other hand the reading of the A.V. and marg. *and me thy servant*, assumes that Ahimaaz points to the Cushite approaching in the distance, which is scarcely probable. The order of the words, moreover, is unusual, and Wellhausen's conjecture that אֶת עֶבְדְּךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ was originally a marginal gloss on אֶת עֶבְדְּךָ, which has got into the text, is possibly right; or the text may be altered so as to yield the sense given in the Vulg.: "when Joab thy servant, O king, sent me thy servant."

xix. 25. *When he was come to Jerusalem*. This is the most obvious rendering. But "came down" in v. 24 (cf. v. 31), and the position of the narrative, seem to imply that Mephibosheth came to meet David at the Jordan. Accordingly the marginal rendering, which is grammatically possible, deserves consideration. Cf. v. 15. So Vulg. *cumque Jerusalem occurrisset regi*.

43. The margin, *and were not we the first to speak of bringing back our king?* agrees with vv. 10, 11.

xx. 24. *Tribute*. Rather as in the marg., and in the corresponding list of Solomon's officers in 1 Kings iv. 6, cf. 1 Kings v. 14, *levy*. The word is used of the forced

labour employed in public works. *Over the tribute* is, however, the rendering of the LXX. and Vulg.

xxi. 4. *Neither is it for us to put any man to death in Israel.* The rendering of the A.V., *neither for us shalt thou put any man to death in Israel*, though grammatically possible, and retained in the margin, does not agree with the context, for the Gibeonites plainly desired blood for blood, and the explanation that their quarrel was not with Israel at large, but only with the house of Saul, has to be read into the words. The R.V. on the other hand gives an excellent sense. 'We may not compound this blood feud for a money ransom (cf. Num. xxxv. 31), nor have we the right to put any one to death; it rests with you, as king, to act.'

8. *The five sons of Michal. . . . whom she bare to Adriel.* According to 1 Sam. xviii. 19 it was *Merab* who was married to Adriel, while the name of Michal's husband was Palti (1 Sam. xxv. 44) or Paltiel (2 Sam. iii. 15). The explanation of the A.V., derived from the Targum, cannot stand, for יָלְדָה means *bare*, not *brought up*, and it is clear that there is an error in the text, and that *Merab* must be read in place of *Michal*.

10. *Was poured, for dropped.* The A.V. was misled by the LXX. and Vulg. But a reference to Exod. ix. 33 decides the sense of the word נִתְּךְ, and it is significant. Rizpah kept her watch until *abundant* rain showed that the curse had been removed.

16. *A new sword: marg. new armour.* The Heb. text has only the adjective חֲדָשָׁה, *new*; and there is nothing to indicate what substantive should be supplied, whether *sword* as in the Vulg. *ense novo*, or *armour*. A third possibility, however, deserves consideration, that חֲדָשָׁה is a corruption of some rare word denoting some specially formidable weapon. Cf. the LXX. κορύνη, *a mace*.

19. The comparison of this verse with the parallel

passage in 1 Chron. xx. 5 shows that one or both texts are corrupt. (1) The reading *Jair* is preferable to *Jaare-oregim*. *Oregim* ארגים is the word for *weavers* in the line below, inserted here by a careless scribe. The letters of יעיר, *Jair*, were then transposed to give the form of a construct state, יערי, *Jaare*, before ארגים. (2) The words ביתהלחמיאתגלית, *the Bethlehemite* [slew] *Goliath*, so closely resemble in form and sound אתלחמיאחיגלית, *Lahmi the brother of Goliath*, that it is extremely probable that the one reading is a corruption or correction of the other. Possibly the text of Chron. was altered by a scribe who stumbled at the statement that Goliath was slain by Elhanan, the form of the alteration being suggested by the similarity of sound. In that case the text of Samuel deserves the preference. It is quite possible that more than one Gittite giant bore the name of Goliath.

xxii. 6. *Cords for sorrows*. חבלים from חבל, *to twist, bind*, means both *cords* and *pangs*. The parallelism decides for the first meaning. Cf. LXX. *σχολία*, Vulg. *funes*. The A.V. follows its predecessors from Coverdale, who was probably influenced by the rendering of the LXX. in the Psalter ὠδίνες, made familiar by the Vulg. *dolores inferni*, and by the use of the words in Acts ii. 24.

9. The parallelism *out of his mouth* decides for the rendering *out of* (lit. *in*) *his nostrils*, though באפו may mean *in his wrath* (marg.). But cf. v. 16.

12. *Gathering of waters*. So the Genevan: *even the gatherings of waters*. חֲשֵׁרָת, found here only, is explained from a cognate Arabic word meaning *to assemble*. The A.V. margin *bindings*, comes from Kimchi, who compares the root קשר, and the rendering *dark waters* was probably suggested by the various reading חֲשֵׁכָת in Ps. xviii.

33, 34. *Guideth for maketh*, deriving ויתר from תור. Marg. *setteth free*, deriving it from נתר, *to shake off, loose*. "His way," "his feet," according to the C'thib דרְפוּ, רגְלוֹ:

marg. "my way," "my feet," according to the K'ri דִּרְבִי, רַגְלִי, and LXX., Vulg., Targ., Syr.

46. *Shall come trembling*, following the text of Ps. xviii. 45, יִחַרְגֵנִי. The text here reads יִחַרְגֵרִי, which in its ordinary sense of *gird themselves* does not suit the passage, but may possibly be explained from the Syr. حَرَجَ, claudicavit, *come limping*.

51. *Great deliverance giveth he*. So the C'thib, מְגִדֵּל, יְשׁוּעוֹת, with Ps. xviii. 50; and all the ancient versions. The K'ri is מְגִדֵּל יְשׁוּעוֹת, *a tower of deliverance*.

xxiii. 3, 4. The brevity of this oracle (נֶאֱמַר, v. 1) makes it difficult to determine the exact construction and sense. It is possible, as in the text, to regard מוֹשֵׁל as the subject, and וּכְאֹר בְּקָר as the predicate introduced by ו, as is sometimes the case when the subject is virtually a protasis and the predicate an apodosis (*when a man rules . . . he shall be*, etc.): or, as in the margin, to supply *there shall be* in v. 3, and *it shall be* at the beginning of v. 4. The words depict the blessings which will attend the rule of a righteous and God-fearing king. They are an outline sketch of the ideal king to whom Israel's hopes were more clearly directed by subsequent prophecy; and though partially realized in the better kings of Judah, find their complete fulfilment only in Christ. The A.V., *he that ruleth over men must be just*, makes it seem that the object of the words is to describe the necessary characteristics of a ruler, rather than the result of the rule of one to come, who, it is assumed, will possess these characteristics.

5. According to the affirmative rendering, *verily*, given in the text, David confesses with humiliation that his house does not correspond to the ideal, and yet rests his hope on the divine covenant. But the interrogative rendering (לֹא = הֲלֹא) given in the margin, *for is not my house so with God? . . . for all my salvation, and all my desire, will he not make it to grow?* is adopted by most modern commenta-

tors. According to this view, David bases his hope of the ideal righteous ruler on the covenant relation into which God has entered with his house.

8. The corruption of the text of this verse is manifest. (1) *יָשֵׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת*, *one sitting in the seat*, can hardly be taken as a proper name *Josheb-basshebeth*, and a proper name is required in its place. Chron. reads *יִשְׁבֵּעַם*, *Jashobeam*, and the corruption may have originated in the carelessness of a transcriber who substituted for *עַם* the word *בַּשֶּׁבֶת* from the line above. The reading of the LXX. however, is *Ἰεβοσθε* = *ישבשת*, and Wellhausen thinks that *ישבעם* in Chron. is a corruption of *ישבעל* (= *אשבעל*) which he believes the LXX. had still before them in the text of Chron. (2) For *תַּחְכֹּמֹנִי* *Tahchemonite*, should be read *הַחֲכֹמִי*, *the Hachmonite*, or *בְּרֵחֲכֹמִי*, *the son of a Hachmonite*, as in Chron. (3) The last clause has neither grammar nor sense. In place of; *וְהוּא* *עַדִּינוּ הַעֲצֹנִי*, *the same was Adino the Eznite*, must originally have stood, as in Chron., the words *הוּא עִוֵּר אֶת חֲנִיתוֹ*, *he lifted up his spear* (cf. v. 18), or their equivalent.

9. The text of this verse is also corrupt. Not to press the fact that the construction of *חַרְפֵּי* with *ב* is not found elsewhere, *שָׁם*, *there*, implies the previous mention of a place, and we should probably correct the text from Chron. by inserting *he was with David at Pas-dammim* before *when they defied the Philistines*.

20. *A valiant man*. So the Kri *אִישׁ חַיִּל*. Marg. *Ish-hai* with the C'thib *אִישׁ חֵי*.

The two sons of Ariel. *אַרְיֵאל* means *lion of God*, a title given by the Arabs and Persians to men of distinguished bravery. It appears to be a proper name here; and the Revisers follow the LXX. in inserting *בְּנֵי*, *sons of*, which may easily have fallen out after *שְׁנֵי*.

xxiv. 23. *All this, O king, doth Araunah*, etc. Thus rendered, the words form the conclusion of Araunah's speech. The marg. rendering *Araunah the king* is gram-

matically possible, but it seems hardly probable that so important a fact as that Araunah was the former king of Jebus should be only mentioned incidentally. Perhaps יהואל should be omitted altogether, and the words taken as a remark of the historian, *all this did Araunah give (i.e. offer) unto the king*. So the LXX., and some MSS of the Vulg.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

"TESTAMENT" OR "COVENANT" ?

Οπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου· διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μὴ ποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῆ ὁ διαθέμενος."—HEB. ix. 16, 17.

It is generally admitted that *διαθήκη* has in ver. 15 its ordinary meaning of "covenant." But a large number of expositors, including several of the first rank, such as Chrysostom (who does not hint at any other interpretation), Calvin, De Wette, Bleek, Delitzsch, think that in vv. 16, 17 the word passes over into the meaning of "testament," or disposition of property by will. The awkwardness of the transition from the notion of covenant to that of testament is more or less fully acknowledged. But we are compelled to choose the view that offers fewest difficulties. Four proposed renderings of the passage assume that *διαθήκη* means covenant throughout, and all are certainly open to grave objection.

1. Some have translated *διαθέμενος* "the appointed victim." It is sufficient to say that in no other passage has *διαθέμενος* a passive meaning.

2. Some have proposed to render *διαθέμενος* "the mediating victim." But *διατίθημι* does not mean "to mediate."

3. The view of Ebrard is much more worthy of consideration: When a sinner enters into covenant with the

holy God, he must first atone for his guilt by death or offer a substitutionary burnt-offering. The notion of a substitutionary sacrifice is supposed to be introduced in the subsequent verses.

Some of the objections taken to this interpretation have not much force. For instance, it has often been objected that the writer's statement is axiomatic and the reference must be to all covenants. But, as he has been speaking throughout of the covenant between a sinner and God, he might very naturally ignore every other covenant in this passage. Again, it is alleged that, if the writer intended the reference to be to a propitiatory covenant, he would not have omitted to say which of the contracting parties must die. The sinner, it is evident, must die. For the necessity for death arises from the indissoluble connexion between guilt and punishment. The insuperable objection to Ebrard's interpretation of the passage is that Scripture nowhere represents the sinner as proposing to enter into covenant with God, but always represents God as offering pardon to the sinner. The sinner does not find the substitution, but God sends His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin. We may conjecture that the other interpretation, which assigns to *διαθήκη* the meaning of “testamentary disposition,” arose from the seeming incongruity of applying to God's free and merciful offer of pardon to sinful man the notion of an agreement entered into by two independent parties. It is not surprising that Hofmann should endeavour to fasten on *διαθήκη* the neutral meaning of “ordinance” or “arrangement.” The difficulty, however, meets us, that a mere ordinance does not necessarily involve the death of him who has made it.

4. A new interpretation has been recently suggested by Rendall in his excellent and too little known edition of the Epistle. His rendering is this: “Where a covenant is made, death of him that makes it must be the forfeit

offered. For a covenant is ratified upon dead victims: for is it strong at a time [reading *μὴ τότε*] when he that makes it lives *after breaking it?*" The objection is that the analogy fails. According to this interpretation the writer regards the death of him that makes the covenant as a penalty for breaking it. In order that the analogy between the death of him who has made a covenant and the death of Christ may be sustained and be of any value to the argument, it is necessary that the death of Christ should be a penalty which He has to pay for breaking the covenant. If it be replied to this, that Christ is a substitutionary sacrifice for the sinner, for whom He pays the penalty, the interpretation will not then be in harmony with the undeviating teaching of the New Testament, that the appointment of a substitutionary sacrifice is part of the covenant. It is offered, therefore, for the sinner's previous guilt, not for the guilt of breaking the covenant itself.

Such are the interpretations of the passage which assume that *διαθήκη* means "covenant," and such the objections which compel us to seek a view beset by fewer difficulties. Coming now to the more popular explanation, that *διαθήκη* is used in these verses in the sense of "a testamentary disposition," and *διαθέμενος* means "a testator," the arguments in its favour are mainly two.

1. The word *διαθήκη* has the two meanings elsewhere. In classical Greek it almost always signifies "a testamentary disposition of property"; in hellenistic Greek it means "a covenant." The notion of bequeathing an estate by will was scarcely known among the Jews. Some expositors render the word by "testament" in Gal. iii. 15. But this is, to say the least, too doubtful to permit our adducing the passage in proof. The context tells rather on the other side. However that may be, the argument from the two significations of *διαθήκη* is insufficient to justify an unnatural transition from the one meaning to the other.

2. Expositors, therefore, strive to show that the transition in the present case is not unnatural or, at least, not intolerable. The reference in ver. 15 to “the eternal inheritance” is thought to have suggested to the writer the classical meaning of *διαθήκη*, and to have led him to institute at once a comparison between the heirs of an estate willed by a testator and those whom God has called to receive the promise of the eternal inheritance. As the former cannot enter into possession till after the testator’s death, so likewise the latter receive not the inheritance before the death of Christ takes place. Here are two points of analogy, the inheritance promised and the necessity for the death of him who made the promise. The resemblance will appear still more natural if we bear in mind that one purpose of the verses, if not indeed their main object, is to account for the necessity of Christ’s death in reference to believers under the Old Dispensation. God had already brought many sons unto glory. But heaven was not secured or prepared for them till the death of Christ made them legal, as they were already actual, possessors of the inheritance.

This reasoning is plausible. But it cannot be considered satisfactory, unless we are prepared to admit that the sacred writer can condescend to use a sophistical argument. De Wette adopts the interpretation now stated, and considers it to be a piece of dialectic. Even Tholuck grants that it is, logically considered, inconsequential, and Lüne-mann admits it is logically inaccurate. But it is worse than inconclusive. It is an inconceivable confusion of thought. A testamentary disposition of property has no force until after the testator’s death. Why not? Evidently the only reason is that the testator may change his mind. During his lifetime, therefore, it is always possible that he may alter his will; but, when he has died, it is too late. Apply the analogy. Christ has made a testamentary dis-

position of certain blessings to men. But it has no validity while Christ lives. Why not? Is it because He may change His mind in His lifetime, but cannot when He has died? Not to speak of the irreverence and absurdity of such a notion, it must first be shown, to make the argument anything better than a childish equivocation, that God's promises are, in any real sense, a testamentary disposition. Christ's death is necessary, according to the unvarying representations of the New Testament, in consequence of man's guilt, and bears no resemblance of any kind to the act of a person who makes a bequest of his goods and chattels to his heirs.

The following considerations may have some force as subsidiary arguments against this view of the passage.

1. In ver. 15 the necessity of Christ's death is connected with the ratification of a covenant. It is natural to expect that in ver. 16 also the things connected should be the same. Add to this that in ver. 18 the necessity of the shedding of blood under the first covenant is inferred (ὅθεν) from what has been said in vv. 16, 17.

2. The strangeness of the meaning of "testament" in the hellenistic Greek has more weight on the one side than its familiarity in the classics has on the other. In Philo, *De Nom. Mutatione*, vol. i. p. 586 Mang., κληρον κατὰ διαθήκας ἀπολείψειν, the mention of inheritance and the use of the word ἀπολείψειν have led Mangey and others to render the word by "testament." But all that can fairly be inferred is that Philo speaks of testamentary dispositions as being one kind of covenant. The subsequent words, θήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον σου . . . ὥστε σύμβολον εἶναι διαθήκην χάριτος ἣν μέσην ἔθηκεν ὁ Θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ τε ὀρέγοντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου λαμβάνοντος, refer to mediation, a notion altogether foreign to the idea of a testament, but essential to his definition of a covenant. If so, the passage from Philo resembles the verses under

discussion, in connecting together the notion of an inheritance and that of a covenant, and may have suggested the thought to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

3. This interpretation does force, as Rendall observes, to the meaning of ὅτε, which can signify “in case,” “supposing that,” but cannot be synonymous with ἕως, “as long as,” “during.”

Is no other interpretation possible? A covenant is an agreement on oath. Each of the parties to a covenant pledges himself to fulfil his part of the conditions at the cost, if necessary, of his life. Such were the covenants between Isaac and Abimelech (Gen. xxvi. 31), between Jacob and Laban (Gen. xxxi. 53), between David and Jonathan (1 Sam. xx. 17), and the writer of this Epistle represents God as making a covenant with Abraham by confirming his promise to him with an oath (vi. 13). Now in ver. 15 the writer has said that the redemptive death of Christ is necessary to the fulfilment of the promise of the eternal inheritance. The reason of this is given in ver. 16. God’s promise is a covenant, and a covenant implies a pledge on the part of him who has made the promise that he will fulfil his promise at the cost, if necessary, of his life. This is the major premise of a syllogism. The minor premise is left to be supplied by the reader. It is that the new covenant, which God has made with man for the forgiveness of sin, is of such a nature that the condition of Christ’s death is required for the fulfilment of the Divine promise. Christ now occupies the place of God, as the person who has made the covenant. No objection can justly be taken to this. God sends His Son. Christ dies as representative of God, who has promised and will not repent, though He must sacrifice His Son and, in His Son, face death, in order to fulfil His promise.

Ver. 17 will then be a proof of the major premise; first, from actual fact; second, from the notion of a covenant.

First, as matter of fact, a covenant based on dead men, that is, on the condition that the contracting parties will not shrink from facing death in order to fulfil their engagement, is, for that very reason, well established, and calculated to inspire men with confidence. The emphasis in this clause is on *βεβαια*, and the word refers, not to legal validity, but to the certitude which such an agreement imparts to the interested persons. Cf. vi. 16, *εἰς βεβαίωσιν*, "unto certitude." The words *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς* should be closely connected with *διαθήκη*, and *ἐπὶ* understood in its usual meaning of "upon." The plur. (*νεκροῖς*) is used, because a covenant is a sworn agreement between two or more persons. But in reference to the new covenant (ver. 16), the sing. is preferred, because it is not a contract into which two independent and equal parties enter with one another, but a gracious dispensation of God on behalf of men.

Second, the notion of a covenant implies that its power with men rests on the solemn pledge of the contracting parties to fulfil their engagement or die in the attempt; inasmuch as it has no influence in case he who has made it lives, and shuns to expose himself to danger of death in fulfilling its conditions. *Μήποτε* (if we adopt this reading in preference to *μὴ τότε*) refers to the notion of covenant. If the reference were to the fact of a covenant, *οὐποτε* would have been used.

At first sight the word *ἰσχυει* appears to be an objection to this interpretation of the verses. But there is no need to suppose the word means legal validity. Indeed, this is not the precise signification that ought to be attached to the word, even if we adopted the other interpretation, that the writer is speaking of a testamentary disposition. For it is not the testator's death, but his signature or some other sufficient proof that the document expresses his intention, that constitutes the validity of the will. His death is only the necessary condition of the transfer of the estate.

But ἴσχυει cannot fairly express this notion. On the other hand, if the reference is to a covenant, ἴσχυει will bear its natural meaning of moral influence. Cf. Acts xix. 20; Rev. xii. 8. This interpretation assigns to ὅτε also its correct meaning.

A difficult word is φέρεσθαι. It cannot well be synonymous with γίγνεσθαι. The meaning “to prove legally” is not found in any of the passages adduced as examples by expositors; μάρτυρα φέρειν is quite different. Again, it is scarcely safe to consider φέρεσθαι synonymous with ἐμφέρεσθαι, “to introduce.” But the word bears a meaning sometimes that fits in well with the interpretation suggested in this paper. Cf. Thuc. iii. 53, ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἴσον μάλιστ’ ἀν φέρεσθαι, “thinking we should have justice *dealt out* to us.” Any man that makes a covenant has death dealt out to him as the ultimate condition which he must be prepared to fulfil, if he will discharge his duty in accordance with his engagement. The tense is to be noted. Death is always held before him in prospect.

This view receives some confirmation from the similarity of the argument here and in Gal. iii. 10–15. In that passage the necessity of Christ’s death is inferred from the curse under which men lay. But Christ was made a curse for us. This is compared to the confirmation of a covenant. Even in the case of a man’s covenant, if it be once confirmed, no one can take from or add a whit to its force. Here the confirmation of the covenant must mean the oath by which the contracting parties pledge themselves to die rather than fall short of the fulfilment of their promise. Similarly the death of Christ is the confirmation to all believers of God’s promises. Κυρῶ is used in 2 Cor. ii. 8 in the sense of convincing a person of another’s love; and in Gal. iii. 15, the only other passage in the New Test. in which the word occurs, it may be understood to mean that the pledge of death begets confidence in the trust-

worthiness of the covenant. Christ did not shrink from such a pledge, and His death is like a Divine oath, the end of all unbelief, even unto certitude.

The interpretation now suggested is not free from difficulties. One is that *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς* does not naturally yield the meaning of "based upon the death of the contracting parties." The meaning assigned to *ἐπὶ* is, of course, frequent with the dat.; and the use of the plur. adj. in the sense of *θάνατος* seems to be parallel to the use of *ἐκ νεκρῶν*, in Rom. vi. 12, to signify "from a state of death." Nothing more is claimed for the view proposed than that it appears to be surrounded with fewer difficulties than other interpretations of the passage.

T. C. EDWARDS.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

XVI.

TWO FINAL TESTS OF THE FALSE TEACHING.

"If ye died with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, do ye subject yourselves to ordinances, Handle not, nor taste, nor touch (all which things are to perish with the using), after the precepts and doctrines of men? Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and severity to the body; *but are* not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh."—COL. ii. 20-3 (Rev. Ver.).

THE polemical part of the Epistle is now coming to an end. We pass in the next chapter, after a transitional paragraph, to simple moral precepts which, with personal details, fill up the remainder of the letter. The antagonist errors appear for the last time in the words which we have now to consider. In these the Apostle seems to gather up all his strength to strike two straight, crashing, final blows, which pulverize and annihilate the theoretical positions and practical precepts of the heretical teachers. First, he puts in the form of an unanswerable demand for the reason

for their teachings, their radical inconsistency with the Christian's death with Christ, which is the very secret of his life. Then, by a contemptuous concession of their apparent value to people who will not look an inch below the surface, he makes more emphatic their final condemnation as worthless—less than nothing and vanity—for the suppression of “the flesh”—the only aim of all moral and religious discipline. So we have here two great tests by their conformity to which we may try all teachings which assume to regulate life, and all Christian teaching about the place and necessity for ritual and outward prescriptions of conduct. “Ye are dead with Christ.” All must fit in with that great fact. The restraint and conquest of “the flesh” is the purpose of all religion and of all moral teaching—your systems must do that or they are naught, however fascinating they may be.

I. We have then to consider the great fact of the Christian's death with Christ, and to apply it as a touchstone.

The language of the Apostle points to a definite time when the Colossian Christians “died” with Christ. That carries us back to former words in the chapter, where, as we found, the period of their baptism considered as the symbol and profession of their conversion, was regarded as the time of their burial. They died with Christ when they clave with penitent trust to the truth that Christ died for them. When a man unites himself by faith to the dying Christ as his Peace, Pardon, and Saviour, then he too in a very real sense dies with Jesus.

That thought of every Christian being dead with Christ, runs through the whole of Paul's teaching. It is no mere piece of mysticism on his lips, though it has often become so, when divorced from morality by some Christian teachers. It is no mere piece of rhetoric, though it has often become so, when men have lost the true thought of what Christ's

death is for the world. But to Paul the cross of Christ was, first and foremost, the altar of sacrifice on which the oblation was offered that took away all his guilt and sin; and then, because it was that, it became the law of his own life, and the power that assimilated him to his Lord.

The plain English of it all is that, when a man becomes a Christian by putting his trust in Christ who died, as the ground of his acceptance and salvation, such a change takes place upon his whole nature and relationship to externals as is fairly comparable to a death.

The same illustration is frequent in ordinary speech. What do we mean when we talk of an old man being dead to youthful passions or follies or ambitions? We mean that they have ceased to interest him, that he is *separated* from them and *insensible* to them. Death is the separator. What an awful gulf there is between that fixed white face beneath the sheet, and all the things about which he was so eager an hour ago! How impossible for any cries of love to pass the chasm. "His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not." The "business" which filled his thoughts, crumbles to pieces, and he cares not. Nothing reaches him or interests him any more. So, if we have got hold of Christ as our Saviour, and have found in His cross the anchor of our souls, that will deaden us to all that was our life, and the measure in which we are joined to Jesus by our faith in His great sacrifice, will be the measure in which we are detached from our former selves, and from old objects of interest and pursuit. The change may either be called dying with Christ, or rising with Him. The one phrase takes hold of it at an earlier stage than the other; the one puts stress on our ceasing to be what we were, the other on our beginning to be what we were not. So our text is followed by a paragraph corresponding in form and substance, and beginning, "If ye then be risen with Christ," as this begins, "If ye died with Christ!"

Such detachment from externals and separation from a former self is not unknown in ordinary life. Strong emotion of any kind makes us insensible to things around, and even to physical pain. Many a man with the excitement of the battle-field boiling in his brain, "receives but reckes not of a wound." Absorption of thought and interest leads to what is called "absence of mind," where the surroundings are entirely unfelt, as in the case of the saint who rode all day on the banks of the Swiss lake, plunged in theological converse, and at evening asked where the lake was, though its waves had been rippling for twenty miles at his mule's feet. Higher tastes drive out lower ones, as some great stream turned into a new channel will sweep it clear of mud and rubbish. So, if we are joined to Christ, He will fill our souls with strong emotions and interests which will deaden our sensitiveness to things around us, and will inspire new loves, tastes and desires which will make us indifferent to much that we used to be eager about, and hostile to much that we once cherished.

To what shall we die if we are Christians? The Apostle answers that question in various ways, which we may profitably group together. "Reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto *sin*" (Rom. vi. 11). "He died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto *themselves*" (2 Cor. v. 14, 15). "Ye are become dead to the *law*" (Rom. vii. 6). By the cross of Christ, "the world hath been crucified unto me, and I unto *the world*." So then, to the whole mass of outward material things, all this present order which surrounds us—the unrenounced self which has ruled us so long, and the sin which results from the appeals of outward things to that evil self—to these, and to the mere outward letter of a commandment which is impotent to enforce its own behests or deliver self from the snares of the world and the burden of sin, we cease to belong in the measure in which we are Christ's. The separation is not

complete; but, if we are Christians at all, it is begun, and henceforward our life is to be a "dying daily." It must either be a dying life or a living death. We shall still be-long in our outward being—and, alas! far too much in heart also—to the world and self and sin—but, if we are Christians at all, there will be a real separation from these in the inmost heart of our hearts, and the germ of entire deliverance from them all will be in us.

This day needs that truth to be strongly urged. The whole meaning of the death of Christ is not reached when it is regarded as the great propitiation for our sins. Is it the pattern for our lives? has it drawn us away from our love of the world, from our sinful self, from the temptations to sin, from cowering before duties which we hate but dare not neglect? has it changed the current of our lives, and lifted us into a new region where we find new interests, loves and aims, before which the twinkling lights, which once were stars to us, pale their ineffectual fires? If so, then, just in as much as it is so, and not one hair's breadth the more, may we call ourselves Christians. If not, it is of no use for us to talk about looking to the cross as the source of our salvation. Such a look, if it be true and genuine, will certainly change all a man's tastes, habits, aspirations, and relationships. If we know nothing of dying with Christ, it is to be feared we know as little of Christ's dying for us.

This great fact of the Christian's death with Christ comes into view here mainly as pointing the contradiction between the Christian's position, and subjection to the prescriptions and prohibitions of a religion which consists chiefly in petty rules about conduct. We are "dead" says Paul, "to the rudiments of the world,"—a phrase which we have already heard in verse 8 of this chapter, where we found its meaning to be "precepts of an elementary character, fit for babes, not for men in Christ, and moving principally in the

region of the material." It implies a condemnation of all such regulation religion on the two grounds, that it is an anachronism, seeking to perpetuate an earlier stage that has been left behind, and that it has to do with the outsides of things, with the material and visible only. To such rudiments we are dead with Christ. Then, queries Paul, with irresistible triumphant question—why, in the name of consistency, "do you subject yourself to ordinances" (of which we have already heard in verse 14 of the chapter) such as "handle not, nor taste, nor touch"? These three prohibitions are not Paul's, but are quoted by him as specimens of the kind of rules and regulations which he is protesting against. The ascetic teachers kept on vehemently reiterating their prohibitions, and as the correct rendering of the word shows, with a constantly increasing intolerance. "Handle not" is a less rigid prohibition than "touch not." The first says, Do not lay hold of; the second, Do not touch with the tip of your finger. So asceticism, like many another tendency and habit, grows by indulgence, and demands abstinence ever more rigid and separation ever more complete. And the whole thing is out of date, and a misapprehension of the genius of Christianity. Man's work in religion is ever to confine it to the surface, to throw it outward and make it a mere round of things done and things abstained from. Christ's work in religion is to drive it inwards, and to focus all its energy on "the hidden man of the heart," knowing that if that be right, the visible will come right. It is waste labour to try to stick figs on the prickles of a thorn bush—as is the tree, so will be the fruit. There are plenty of pedants and martinets in religion as well as on the parade ground. There must be so many buttons on the uniform, and the shoulder belts must be pipe-clayed, and the rifles on the shoulders sloped at just such an angle—and then all will be right. Perhaps so. Disciplined courage is better than courage undisciplined.

But there is much danger of all the attention being given to the drill, and then when the parade ground is exchanged for the battle-field, disaster comes because there is plenty of etiquette and no dash. Men's lives are pestered out of out of them by a religion which tries to tie them down with as many tiny threads as the Lilliputians fastened down Gulliver with. But Christianity in its true and highest forms is not a religion of prescriptions but of principles. It does not keep perpetually dinning a set of petty commandments and prohibitions into our ears. Its language is not a continual "Do this, forbear from that,"—but "Love, and thou fulfillest the law." It works from the centre outwards to the circumference, first making clean the inside of the cup and platter, and so ensuring that the outside shall be clean also. The error with which Paul fought, and which perpetually crops up anew, having its roots deep in human nature, begins with the circumference and wastes effort in burnishing the outside.

The parenthesis which follows in the text, "all which things are to perish with the using," contains an incidental remark intended to show the mistake of attaching such importance to regulations about diet and the like, from the consideration of the perishableness of these meats and drinks about which so much was said by the false teachers. "They are all destined for corruption, for physical decomposition—in the very act of consumption." You cannot use them without using them up. They are destroyed in the very moment of being used. Is it like men who have died with Christ to this fleeting world, to make so much of its perishable things?

May we not widen this thought beyond its specific application here, and say that death with Christ to the world should deliver us from the temptation of making much of the things which perish with the using, whether that temptation is presented in the form of attaching ex-

aggerated religious importance to ascetic abstinence from them or in that of exaggerated regard and unbridled use of them? Asceticism and Sybaritic luxury have in common an over-estimate of the importance of the material things. The one is the other turned inside out. Dives in his purple and fine linen, and the ascetic in his hair shirt, both make too much of "what they shall put on." The one with his feasts and the other with his fasts both think too much of what they shall eat and drink. A man who lives on high with his Lord puts all these things in their right place. There are things which do *not* perish with the using, but grow with use, like the five loaves in Christ's hands. Truth, love, holiness, all Christ-like graces and virtues, increase with exercise, and the more we feed on the bread which comes down from heaven the more shall we have for our own nourishment and for our brother's need. There is a treasure which faileth not, bags which wax not old, the durable riches and undecaying possessions of the soul that lives on Christ and grows like Him. These let us seek after; for if our religion be worth anything at all, it should carry us past all the fleeting wealth of earth straight into the heart of things, and give us for our portion that God whom we can never exhaust, nor outgrow, but possess the more as we use His sweetness for the solace and His all-sufficient Being for the good of our souls.

The final inconsistency between the Christian position and the practical errors in question is glanced at in the words "after the commandments and doctrines of men," which refer, of course, to the ordinances of which Paul is speaking. The expression is a quotation from Isaiah's (xxix. 13) denunciation of the Pharisees of his day, and as used here seems to suggest that the great discourse of our Lord's on the worthlessness of the Jewish punctilios about meats and drinks was in the Apostle's mind,

since the same words of Isaiah's occur there in a similar connexion. It is not fitting that we, who are withdrawn from dependence on the outward visible order of things by our union with Christ in His death, should be under the authority of men. Here is the true democracy of the Christian society. "Ye were redeemed with a price. Be not the servants of men." Our union to Jesus Christ is a union of absolute authority and utter submission. We all have access to the one source of illumination, and we are bound to take our orders from the one Master. The protest against the imposition of human authority on the Christian soul is made not in the interests of self-will, but from reverence to the only voice that has right to give autocratic commands and to receive unquestioning obedience. We are free in proportion as we are dead to the world with Christ. We are free from men not that we may please ourselves, but that we may please Him. "Hold your peace, I want to hear what my Master has to command me," is the true language of the Christian freedman, who is free that he may serve, and because he serves.

II. We have to consider one great purpose of all teaching and external worship, by its power in attaining which any system is to be tried.

"Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and severity to the body, *but are not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh.*" Here is the conclusion of the whole matter, the parting summary of the indictment against the whole irritating tangle of restrictions and prescriptions. From a moral point of view it is worthless, as having no coercive power over "the flesh." Therein lies its conclusive condemnation, for if religious observances do not help a man to subdue his sinful self, what, in the name of common sense, is the use of them?

The Apostle knows very well that the system which he was opposing had much which commended it to people, especially to those who did not look very deep. It had a "show of wisdom" very fascinating on a superficial glance, and that in three points, all of which caught the vulgar eye, and all of which turned into the opposite on closer examination.

It had the look of being exceeding devotion and zealous worship. These teachers with their abundant forms impose upon the popular imagination, as if they were altogether given up to devout contemplation and prayer. But if one looks a little more closely at them, one sees that their devotion is the indulgence of their own will and not surrender to God's. They are not worshipping Him as He has appointed, but as they have themselves chosen, and as they are rendering services which He has not required, they are in a very true sense worshipping their own wills, and not God at all. By "will-worship" seems to be meant self-imposed forms of religious service which are the outcome not of obedience, nor of the instincts of a devout heart, but of a man's own will. And the Apostle implies that such supererogatory and volunteered worship is no worship. Whether offered in a cathedral or a barn, whether the worshipper wear a cope or a fustian jacket, such service is not accepted. A prayer which is but the expression of the worshipper's own will, instead of being "not my will but Thine be done," reaches no higher than the lips which utter it. If we are subtly and half unconsciously obeying self even while we seem to be bowing before God; if we are seeming to pray, and are all the while burning incense to ourselves, instead of being drawn out of ourselves by the beauty and the glory of the God towards whom our spirits yearn, then our devotion is a mask, and our prayers will be dispersed in empty air.

The deceptive appearance of wisdom in these teachers

and their doctrines is further manifest in the humility which felt so profoundly the gulf between man and God that it was fain to fill the void with its fantastic creations of angel mediators. Humility is a good thing, and it looked very humble to say, We cannot suppose that such insignificant flesh-encompassed creatures as we can come into contact and fellowship with God ; but it was a great deal more humble to take God at His word, and to let Him lay down the possibilities and conditions of intercourse, and to tread the way of approach to Him which He has appointed. If a great king were to say to all the beggars and ragged losels of his capital, Come to the palace to-morrow ; which would be the humbler, he who went, rags and leprosy and all, or he who hung back because he was so keenly conscious of his squalor ? God says to men, "Come to My arms through My Son. Never mind the dirt, come." Which is the humbler, he who takes God at His word, and runs to hide his face on his Father's breast, having access to Him through Christ the way, or he who will not venture near till he has found some other mediators besides Christ ? A humility so profound that it cannot think God's promise and Christ's mediation enough for it, has gone so far West that it has reached the East, and from humility has become pride.

Further, this system has a show of wisdom in "severity to the body." Any asceticism is a great deal more to men's taste than abandoning self. They will rather stick hooks in their backs and do the "swinging poojah," than give up their sins or yield up their wills. It is easier to travel the whole distance from Cape Comorin to the shrine of Juggernaut, measuring every foot of it by the body laid prostrate in the dust, than to surrender the heart to the love of God. In the same manner the milder forms of putting oneself to pain, hair shirts, scourgings, abstinence from pleasant things with the notion that

thereby merit is acquired, or sin atoned for, have a deep root in human nature, and hence "a show of wisdom." It is strange, and yet not strange, that people should think that, somehow or other, they recommend themselves to God by making themselves uncomfortable, but so it is that religion presents itself to many minds mainly as a system of restrictions and injunctions which forbids the agreeable and commands the unpleasant. So does our poor human nature vulgarise and travesty Christ's solemn command to deny ourselves and take up our cross after Him.

The conclusive condemnation of all the crowd of punctilious restrictions of which the Apostle has been speaking lies in the fact that, however they may correspond to men's mistaken notions, and so seem to be the dictate of wisdom, they "are not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh." This is one great end of all moral and spiritual discipline, and if practical regulations do not tend to secure it, they are worthless.

Of course by "flesh" here we are to understand, as usually in the Pauline Epistles, not merely the body but the whole unregenerate personality, the entire unrenewed self that thinks and feels and wills and desires apart from God. To indulge and satisfy it is to die, to slay and suppress it is to live. All these "ordinances" with which the heretical teachers were pestering the Colossians, have no power, Paul thinks, to keep that self down, and therefore they seem to him so much rubbish. He thus lifts the whole question up to a higher level and implies a standard for judging much formal outward Christianity which would make very short work of it.

A man may be keeping the whole round of them and seven devils may be in his heart. They distinctly tend to foster some of the "works of the flesh," such as self-righteousness, uncharitableness, censoriousness, and they

as distinctly altogether fail to subdue any of them. A man may stand on a pillar like Simeon Stylites for years, and be none the better. Historically, the ascetic tendency has not been associated with the highest types of real saintliness except by accident, and has never been their productive cause. The bones rot as surely inside the sepulchre though the whitewash on its dome be ever so thick.

So the world and the flesh are very willing that Christianity should shrivel into a religion of prohibitions and ceremonials, because all manner of vices and meannesses may thrive and breed under these, like scorpions under stones. There is only one thing that will put the collar on the neck of the animal within us, and that is the power of the indwelling Christ. The evil that is in us all is too strong for every other fetter. Its cry to all these "commandments and ordinances of men" is, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?" Not in obedience to such but in the reception into our spirits of His own life is our power of victory over self. "This I say, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh."

ALEXANDER MACLAREN.

*RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE ON THE
NEW TESTAMENT.*

THE period which has elapsed since our last summary was submitted has been more than usually fertile. Each of the great departments of New Testament Literature has something good to show. In more than one the contributions which have to be reported are not only numerous, but of exceptional importance. The Germans, as usual, have been the great producers. But French, Swiss, Dutch, Russian and Norwegian scholars have been by no means idle. We shall confine ourselves, for the most part,

to publications which fall within the last twelve months. Were we to attempt anything like a complete account, however, of the books, monographs and articles which the busy press has issued within these narrow limits, we should have a formidable list to present. We select those only which seem to have the best claim to our immediate attention, and we shall deal with them according to the particular divisions of our science to which they admit of being assigned.

I. TEXTUAL CRITICISM.—In the department of the lower criticism several publications have appeared which make distinct additions to our materials. One of the most remarkable of these is *Pierre Batiffol's* account of the new manuscript—*Codex Beratinus* (Φ). The discovery of this document in the library of the Albanian Metropolitan has been already reported in the pages of this Journal. The discoverer's statement, which was given originally in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'École française de Rome*, is now to be had in separate form.¹ The Codex consists apparently of 190 leaves, and contains the first two Gospels, with the exception of a few sections. Like the Codex Rossanensis, the discovery of which excited such interest a few years ago, it is a purple parchment inscribed with letters of silver. There seems reason to believe that it exhibits a type of text which deserves notice. But anything that is said about it at present must be taken with reserve. Everything is uncertain. It is not apparent whether it is earlier or later than the Codex Rossanensis, to which in most respects it presents so curious a parallel. M. Batiffol dates it about a century earlier than Dr. von Gebhardt is inclined to admit—the latter ascribing it to the end of the sixth, or more probably the beginning of the seventh century. Even the extent of the *lacunæ* in the manuscript is left doubtful.

Another monograph of some value is Dr. Oscar Lemm's *Fragments of the Sahidic Version*.² These fragments are selected from two manuscripts belonging to the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. One of these is a paper manuscript, numbered DCXXIII. in Dorn's Catalogue. Material, ink and style all show it to be of very late date. The other is a parchment

¹ *Evangeliorum Codex Græcus purpureus Beratinus* Φ, etc. Rome: Imprimerie de la Paix de Philippe Cuggiani, 1885.

² *Bruchstücke der Sahidischen Bibelübersetzung*, etc. Herausgegeben von Dr. Oscar von Lemm, Conservator am Asiatischen Museum der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg. Leipzig, 1885.

manuscript, which was brought along with much more spoil from Egypt by Tischendorf, in 1853, and was described by him in his *Notitia*. It consists of five leaves and a number of broken pieces. The whole is in so miserable a state of preservation that most men would have shrunk from attempting a reconstruction of the text. Both decipherment and arrangement must have been attended with the utmost difficulty. The text, as Dr. Lemm has restored it for us, gives (in addition to Joshua xv. 7-xvii. 1) parts of Matthew xxvi., xxvii., xxviii., of Luke xxiv., and of the first four chapters of John's Gospel.

The Norwegian scholar, J. Belsheim, of the University of Christiania, ranks deservedly among the best reproducers of ancient texts that our century has reared. We owe him much for his admirable edition of the text of the Gospels contained in the famous *Codex Aureus*, the great treasure of the Stockholm Library, for his publication of the text of Acts and the Apocalypse given by the scarcely less famous Stockholm *Gigas*,—the enormous manuscript which is said to require two or three men to lift it, and to which the tradition attaches that it was written out in a single night by an imprisoned monk with Satanic help,—and for various services of like merit. He has added to his former excellent work in this branch of sacred science by editing an interesting Vienna codex, which contains portions of Luke and Mark in an old Latin version.¹ He is not indeed the first to bring this text before the public. So far back as 1791 it was described, and the Mark section of it was reproduced, in Paulus of Jena's *Repertorium*, and in 1795 three of the Luke fragments were given in the same editor's *Memorabilia*. A collation was also presented in the edition of the Greek New Testament published in 1787 by F. K. Alter of Vienna. But in these forms it was neither of convenient access nor very reliable in point of accuracy. Mr. Belsheim, therefore, visited Vienna in 1884 and 1885, compared Alter's text as given in Paulus's publications with the original, and put forth an edition which is likely long to meet all needs. The manuscript itself seems to have been deposited originally in Naples, whence it was brought in 1717. It belongs to the select class of purple parchments, with silver and gold letters, and dates, as Mr. Belsheim thinks, about the end of the seventh century.

¹ *Codex Vindobonensis membranaceus purpureus literis argenteis aureisque scriptus. Antiquissimæ Evangeliorum Lucae et Marci translationis Latine fragmenta. Edidit J. Belsheim. Cum tabula. Lipsiæ, MDCCCLXXXV.*

Originally it gave the four Gospels, as clearly appears; and in all probability it followed the order seen in the Itala codices *Palat.*, *Veron.*, *Vercell.*, *Cantab.*, *Corbei.*, viz. Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

From the same practised hand we get a monograph on a text which is found in another very ornate manuscript, of which he is the first editor—the *Codex Theodoræ Imperatricis purpureus Petropolitani*.¹ The *Codex* is a Greek cursive with gold letters on purple parchment, and is referred to the ninth century. It was brought to St. Petersburg from Asia Minor, in 1829, as a gift to the Emperor Nicholas. The Theodora whose name it bears is supposed to be the Byzantine image-worshipper, the wife of the Emperor Theophilus (829–842). Mr. Belsheim has collated the whole manuscript. In the present volume he gives the full text only of Mark, but appends (along with a page of the *Codex*, reproduced after the beautiful facsimile of Muralt) a comparison of the text of the other three Gospels with the *Textus Receptus*.

In this connexion we may mention an edition of the Epistle to the Galatians, by P. Corssen, giving the Vulgate text according to the best manuscripts,² and an article in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*,³ by Professor Hagen of Bern, on a fragment of the Itala, which is recovered by a chemical process from a Bern palimpsest of the sixth century. The portion so restored gives the beginning of Mark's Gospel. Professor Hagen takes it to be a part of the Itala-text, which exhibits decided affinity with that of the Cambridge *Codex*, and does not differ so largely from the Vulgate as is the case with most manuscripts of the Itala.

To this head also belongs Herr Baethgen's attempt to reproduce the Greek text underlying the Curetonian Syriac.⁴ He recognises the great difficulty of his task, and admits that in many passages the unfitness of the Syriac idiom for the expression of the nice distinctions of the Greek, makes it impossible to say what the original was. But he thinks that a large measure of success is nevertheless attainable, and that such a reproduction as he pre-

¹ *Das Evangelium des Marcus nach dem griechischen Codex Theodoræ Imperatricis purpureus Petropolitani, etc. Zum ersten Mal herausgegeben von T. Belsheim, etc.* Christiania, 1885.

² *Epistula ad Galatas ad fidem optimorum Codicum Vulgatæ recognovit, prolegomenis instruxit, Vulgatam cum antiquioribus versionibus comparavit P.C.* Berlin, 1885.

³ *Siebenundzwanzigster Jahrgang. Viertes Heft.*

⁴ *Evangelien-Fragmente. Der griechische Text des Cureton'schen Syrers wiederhergestellt von Friedrich Baethgen.* Leipzig, 1885.

sents here should be an important contribution to Textual Criticism. To us the most interesting part of his treatise, however, is the Introduction, in which he has something to the purpose to say on a number of topics. He severely criticises Mr. Crowfoot's partial venture in the same field. He shows how imperfect a use is made of the Curetonian Syriac even by men of the rank of Tischendorf and Tregelles, notwithstanding the great value they ascribe to that text. He acknowledges traces of a revising hand or revising hands in it, but is of opinion that it has not been subjected to more than occasional and partial correction. He began his work with a strong prepossession in favour of Zahn's theory, that the Curetonian Syriac was prior to Tatian's Harmony, but he ends with the opposite conclusion. His investigation has led him to results entirely in harmony, too, with Professor Hort's views on the subject of a revision of the old Syriac and the rise of the Syriac Vulgate.

II. BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION AND BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.—We place these together, as several of the books which follow belong in reality to both departments. The fact that Zöckler's *Handbook*¹ has gone so soon into a second edition speaks for its general merit. In men like Professors Cremer, Grau, Harnack, Kübel, Luthardt, Strack, Volck, Schmidt, and von Scheele, the editor has a body of *collaborateurs* whose names should be a guarantee for good work, and on the whole the project has been well carried out. In the first edition, however, there were certain sections belonging to the department of New Testament literature, and specially that on Textual Criticism, which were of distinctly inferior quality. It is satisfactory that the opportunity for a revision of these has come with so little delay. We have to notice, however, the successful initiation of another enterprise of a somewhat similar kind, from which much may be expected. We refer to the *Library of Theological Manuals* undertaken by the firm of J. B. Mohr, of Freiburg in Breisgau.² The series is to include New Testament Introduction, by Professor Holtzmann of Strassburg; Old Testament Introduction, by Professor Budde of Bonn; New Testament Theology, by Professor Schürer of Giessen; Old Testament Theology, by Professor Smend of Basel; Dogmatics, by Professor Nitsch of Kiel; Ethics, by Professor Weiss of Tübingen; History

¹ *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften in encyclopädischer Darstellung, etc.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Otto Zöckler. Erster Band. Nördlingen.

² *Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher, etc.* 1885.

of Dogma, by Professor Harnack of Giessen, and other subjects. The first volume has come to hand, namely that by Holtzmann,¹ and it promises well for what shall follow. Unless it be the veteran Reuss, there is probably no scholar that possesses so extensive a command of the vast literature of New Testament Introduction and so minute an acquaintance with all its problems as Holtzmann. His plan is to take first the History of the Text, then the History of the Canon, and thereafter the special questions connected with the Pauline Epistles, the historical books, and the remaining writings of the New Testament. The volume offers admirable digests of all that is of importance in all its sections. But the most interesting undoubtedly is the third. Here we obtain the results of the author's life-long studies in the history and criticism of the New Testament books. Nothing could surpass his historical summaries or his critical statements for brevity clearness and point.

In an essay of moderate compass, M. Massebieau² gives us a new discussion of the Old Testament quotations found in the first Gospel. He investigates first the *form* and then the *spirit* of the quotations, and comes to the conclusion that they fall into several distinct types, but that there is no unity among them, and that their phenomena can be accounted for only by the supposition that a *second* hand has been at work. Apart from any judgment which may be pronounced upon its final conclusion, his treatise will be found to exhibit considerable exegetical skill, and to yield much that is both independent and suggestive in its way of handling Matthew's citations.

Licentiate A. H. Franke's volume on the *Old Testament in the Writings of St. John*³ is a contribution of great value in more than one respect. It betokens a more than usually competent hand. The author, now promoted, we believe, to an Extraordinary Professorship in Halle, examines first of all John's relation to the Old Testament people, the Old Testament revelation, and the Old Testament scriptures; in which part of his work he grapples with Baur's view of the Anti-Judaism of the fourth Gospel, offers a

¹ *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, von Heinrich Julius Holtzmann. Freiburg i. B., 1885.

² *Examen des Citations de l'ancien Testament dans l'Évangile selon Saint Matthieu*. Par Eugène Massebieau, etc. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1885.

³ *Das alte Testament bei Johannes. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung und Beurtheilung der johanneischen Schriften*. Von Lic. A. H. Franke. Göttingen, 1885.

reasonable explanation of John's use of the term *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*, and shows that the fourth Gospel indicates that its author held as clearly as the writers of the Synoptical Gospels by the inner connexion of the two Revelations. He then investigates the Old Testament basis of the Johannine form of doctrine. This is the weightiest part of his work. It contains much which it would be difficult to put more forcibly on the differences between John and Philo, and on the necessity of carrying those religious ideas of John which have some apparent affinity with those of the Alexandrian school, back to the soil of the Old Testament revelation. In the last division of his book he makes a special examination of John's way of using Old Testament scripture, the extent to which he follows the LXX. and the Hebrew respectively, and his general hermeneutical ideas. The volume will repay study in these latter points, as well as in the larger questions. Its results are strongly opposed to the favourite contentions of the Tübingen school.

Another volume which demands ampler notice than can be given it here is Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*.¹ Dr. H. H. Wendt, formerly of Göttingen, and now Professor of Theology in Heidelberg, is favourably known by his Essay on the Biblical Conceptions of Flesh and Spirit,² to the merits of which the attention of English scholars has been called by Professor Dickson of Glasgow, in his Baird Lecture on "St. Paul's Use of the terms Flesh and Spirit." The qualities which distinguish that essay lead us to expect that a treatise from Dr. Wendt on the great elements in our Lord's teaching will form a particularly important contribution to Biblical Theology. At present he publishes only the first part of his projected work, and in this he does not approach the doctrinal exposition. He limits himself to a discussion of the sources, examining in four successive sections Mark's Gospel, the *λόγια* of Matthew, the first and third Gospels, and John's Gospel. He appends a brief discussion of the sayings of Jesus reported outside the Gospels. Dr. Wendt is a decided advocate of the priority of Mark. He does not recognise any necessity for supposing an *Ur-Markus* distinct from our present form of the Gospel. He gives his reasons for believing that the phenomena which are most characteristic of the second Gospel can only be accounted for by

¹ *Die Lehre Jesu. Von Dr. H. H. Wendt, etc. Erster Theil: Die Evangelischen Quellenberichte über die Lehre Jesu.* Göttingen, 1886.

² *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist im biblischen Sprachgebrauch.* 1878.

the theory that the writer drew from other sources than those embraced in the evangelical narrative as we have it now, and he pronounces strongly in favour of the extraordinary importance of the second Gospel, notwithstanding the fact that in a certain sense Mark's record is only a secondary witness to what Jesus taught.

To these volumes we may add a monograph by K. Walz¹ on the Conception of Scripture to be gathered from Scripture itself—a careful criticism of the dogmatic view of Scripture which has prevailed in the Church; and a brief but well written essay by Professor M. Ménégoz,² of Paris, on the Pauline doctrine of Predestination—adverse to the Calvinistic theory in all its forms, both Infralapsarian and Supralapsarian.

III. HISTORICAL.—We need do no more than refer to the re-issue of Schürer's *Manual of the History of New Testament Times*. The book has been universally recognised as one of capital importance, and its republication has been long looked for. The title³ has been changed in order the better to express the character of the treatise, and great additions have been made to the original contents. If valuable before, the book will be greatly more valuable now. For reasons which the author explains, the second part is issued first; but we are given to expect the completion soon. We are glad to see a good English translation⁴ proceeding *pari passu* with the publication of the German original.

Professor Beyschlag of Halle is bringing out a new *Life of Jesus*,⁵ of which the first part is already completed, and the second is being rapidly issued in small divisions. The first volume is occupied with general questions of a preliminary kind. The second part will give the author's construction of the history as a whole. The volume now before us contains much that will richly reward study, not only in the literary problems touching the origin and

¹ *Die Lehre der Kirche von der h. Schrift nach der Schrift selbst geprüft, etc.* von K. Walz. Leiden.

² *La Prédestination dans la Théologie Paulinienne.* Par E. Ménégoz. Paris: Fischbacher, 1885.

³ *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.* Von D. Emil Schürer, etc. Zweite neu bearbeitete Auflage des Lehrbuchs der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte. Zweiter Theil: Die inneren Zustände Palästina's und des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi. Leipzig, 1886.

⁴ *A History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ, by Emil Schürer, D.D., etc.* Translated by Sophia Taylor and Rev. Peter Christie. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark.

⁵ *Das Leben Jesu, von Willibald Beyschlag.* Erster, untersuchender Theil. Halle, 1885.

connexions of the Gospels, their respective values as sources and the like, but in such subjects as the due relations of criticism and faith, of history and revelation, of nature and miracle, the chronology of the Gospels, the self-consciousness of Jesus, His Messianic vocation, the length of His ministry, His miracles, teaching, passion and resurrection. Professor Beyschlag has had a life-long preparation for this work. Many of his minor publications have been in this direction, and he has already given us some idea of what a Life of Jesus will mean in his hands, by his article on the subject in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*. It is premature to pronounce upon his work in its present incompleteness. What we have, however, excites no ordinary expectations.

Under this head we pause to mention only one book more—a critical and historical study of John the Baptist; by H. Köhler of Magdeburg.¹ The volume shows general agreement with Holzmann and Weiss on the critical questions. It regards John's baptism as neither purely symbolical in its intention, nor yet quite sacramental; and deals with the question sent by the Baptist to Jesus (Matt. xi. 3) as one prompted by impatience, not by doubt.

IV. EXEGETICAL.—We have to report first of all, and we do so with great satisfaction, the completion of the third edition of Godet's *Commentary on John*,² the first part of which appeared in 1881. We have also to chronicle further progress with the new and revised issue of Meyer,³ the Gospels of Mark and Luke now appearing in the seventh edition, the Epistle to the Romans also in the seventh edition, and the Pastoral Epistles in the fifth. All these volumes are revised by Professor Weiss on the plan which has been met with so much criticism in earlier parts. Dr. W. F. Gess has completed the first part of an exposition of the *Epistle to the Romans*⁴ in the form of *Bibel-Stunden*. It has a

¹ *Johannes der Taüfer. Kritisch-theologische Studie, von H. Köhler, Divisionspfarrer in Magdeburg.* Halle: Niemeyer.

² *Commentaire sur l'évangile de Saint Jean. Par F. Godet, etc. Tome deuxième—Explication des chapitres i.–vi. Tome troisième—Explication des chapitres vii.–xxi.* Neuchâtel, 1885.

³ *Meyer Dr. H. A. W., Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. I. Abth. 2. Hälfte. Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas, 7 Auflage, neu umgearb. von Ob.-Consist.-Rath Prof. Dr. B. Weiss.* Göttingen, 1885. Do., 4 und 11 Abth. *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer, und die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus.* Do., 1886.

⁴ *Bibelstunden über den Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Römer, Cap. i.–viii.* Von Wolfgang Friedrich Gess. Basel, 1886.

special interest as being the fruit of the earnest desire of one who has become incapacitated by bodily suffering for the discharge of his old vocation, to do something in his retirement for the Church of God. The book is full of good matter, expressed with something like French lucidity. Professor Paul Schmidt of Basel, has issued a Commentary on *First Thessalonians*,¹ in which he makes a sharp defence of the letter against the hypercritical attacks to which it has recently been subjected. He analyses with special keenness Steck's attempt to prove chap. iv. 15 a quotation from IV Esdras v. 41, 42, and so to make out the Epistle to be post-Pauline. He gives an appendix also of some value on the second Epistle. Keil's Commentary on the New Testament Books proceeds with amazing regularity and despatch. We have now the volume on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*.² The exposition exhibits the author's well-known method, which, though never brilliant, is always painstaking. Some of the introductory and concluding discussions deserve particular notice, especially those on the Barnabas authorship, and on the Epistle as addressed to Jewish Christians in Jerusalem and in the Jewish land. We should also mention the Exposition of the *Apocalypse*, by the late Professor Beck of Tübingen.³ The volume is made up of academic lectures which Beck delivered some seventeen times between the years 1866 and 1878. It gives a general view of the whole book, although the detailed exegesis does not go beyond the first twelve chapters. Beck holds the Apocalypse to be the work of the Apostle John, and to have been written after Nero's persecution, but before the destruction of Jerusalem. Among much that is excellent and suggestive he promulgates some characteristic ideas here, especially on the destiny of Jerusalem to form one day the seat of a vast imperial-papalism. One more Commentary must be referred to, and it is one of decided merit—Spitta's on the *Epistles of Second Peter and Jude*.⁴ As the author indicates, the volume is rather a historical study than a professed exegesis. The interpretative matter, however, is excellent, while the other lines

¹ *Der erste Thessalonicherbrief, neu erklärt, etc., von Prof. Paul Schmidt.* Berlin, 1885.

² *Commentar über den Brief an die Hebräer.* Von Carl Friedrich Keil, Dr. und Prof. der Theologie. Leipzig, 1885.

³ *Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannes, cap. i.—xii.* Herausgegeben von Jul. Lindemeyer. Gütersloh.

⁴ *Der Zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas.* Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung von Friedrich Spitta. Halle, 1883.

of inquiry are of more than ordinary value. The distinctive feature is the application of an extensive acquaintance with the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature of the Old Testament to the problems presented by these New Testament Epistles. This is a method too little practised in dealing with the Apocalypse, as well as with Peter and Jude, and the use which is made of it by Mr. Spitta shows how much it is capable of yielding. The volume is a thoroughly fresh and independent study, which deserves careful attention, apart from the particular conclusions reached as to the relations and historical value of these Epistles.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

BREVIA.

Current Discussions in Theology.—(Chicago: Revell.) This volume—the third of a series—is by the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary, and does them much credit. In plan it somewhat resembles the excellent *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, edited for some years by the late Dr. Pünjer of Jena, and contains a fairly complete summary of recent biblical and theological literature with descriptive and critical remarks. Two sections stand out conspicuously—that on the Old Testament, by our esteemed contributor, Prof. Ives Curtiss, which is characterized by his accustomed sound scholarship and serious candour; and that on Church History, by Prof. Scott, which is a highly intelligent piece of work, and wonderfully complete for its limits. Less satisfactory are the sections on the New Testament and Systematic Theology. The writer of the latter perhaps fails to perceive the significance of the new movement in America, which is really an attempt by Christian men of letters to reconstruct Dogmatic Theology. The editors follow the best German examples in giving full space to Practical Theology. We should be very glad to see this spirited publication imitated in England.

EDITOR.



The Lord is our peace
and His mercy our hope
Franz Jelinek

THE DIDACHÉ AND THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

AN ARGUMENT FOR THE PRIORITY OF THE DIDACHÉ.

A COMPARISON of the *Epistle of Barnabas* with the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, so far as relates to the Way of Death, has been shown in the EXPOSITOR for April last (p. 316), to point clearly to the conclusion that Barnabas drew, if not from the *Teaching*, from an original of which it has preserved the true form. This conclusion will be found to be confirmed by a comparison of the two documents in their entirety.

It is possible that the nucleus of the extant *Teaching* was a separate document on the *Two Ways*, agreeing substantially with its chapters i.-vi., but that several clauses of these were not included in the first draft of the manual. Be this as it may, I shall here simply take the so-called *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* as it stands, and examine how far the phenomena of the *Epistle* can be accounted for on the hypothesis that the writer was acquainted with the manual or its contents.

Thus far nothing has been said of the character and peculiarities of Barnabas. It has only been assumed that he was a writer of passably idiomatic Greek. But we must now take account of what is known of him, as a means of judging what sort of use he was likely to make of his materials.

To begin with, I will give some extracts from Dr. Donaldson's *Apostolical Fathers*, published in 1874, nine

years before Bryennios gave the lost *Teaching* again to the world.

“First (writes he), and most remarkable, are the numerous mistakes and inaccuracies that characterize the writer’s statements with regard to the facts of Judaism. . . . He *repeats* frequently the same idea, most unnecessarily, [in chap. xviii. *sq.*], though this is rather like himself as he appears in the first part. . . . He very frequently misquotes and alters the Old Testament, *jumbles passages together* most unwarrantably, appeals to apocryphal books using the same introductory formulas as he uses in introducing the canonical books of the Old Testament, and not unfrequently quotes as Scripture passages that cannot now be recognised as similar to any in our Bibles.” As to the date of the *Epistle*, he concludes “that it must have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem, that it could not have been written after the close of the second century, but that there is no certain way of fixing on any intervening date as the period of its composition.”

Turning next to Mr. Cunningham’s edition of the *Epistle*, in which the text and notes are by Mr. Rendall, we read in the editor’s preliminary *Dissertation*, that the quotations from the Old Testament are “very numerous and very inexact, as the sense is frequently given rather than the actual words. . . . Nor does the author always care strictly for the sense of the passage from which he quotes words that suit his purpose. . . . We can see from the whole tone of the *Epistle* that the silence in regard to the Holy Communion is no accidental omission, but is in strict accordance with the general vein of his thought. . . . The religious life which he contemplated was hid in the recesses of the human heart, and found no expression in religious ordinances.” Where the ancient rites “dimly declare the true way of salvation through Christ, they are valuable: where no such purpose is served, the object of

the command was not served by actual performance, but lay solely in the spiritual significance."

A few typical examples of his mode of dealing with the Old Testament will suffice to illustrate these remarks.

In chap. x. he flatly repudiates the literal sense of the prohibition of the flesh of swine, birds of prey, and fish without scales, saying, *So then there is no commandment of God to abstain from eating, but Moses spake in the spirit.* The meaning is, "Thou shalt not be joined unto such men as are like to swine. . . . Thou shalt not be joined, neither *likened* to such men as know not how by labour and *sweat* to provide for themselves sustenance, but in their lawlessness make prey of other men's goods."¹

According to chap. xii., "Esaias saith, The Lord said τῷ Χριστῷ μου κυρίῳ, etc.," instead of . . . *unto mine anointed Cyrus* (Isa. xlv. 1), the proper name Κύρω being corrupted into κυρίῳ.

In chap. xv. it is said twice over, that it is written in the Decalogue, "And sanctify ye the Sabbath of the Lord *with pure hands and pure heart.*" This is a case in which he "jumbles" things together; and not only so, but reads his own sense into words of Scripture, and then, never doubting its accuracy, does not hesitate to say that they were spoken as he interprets them.

We are now in a position to discuss the relation of the *Epistle* to the *Teaching*, with which it so closely agrees from chap. xviii. onward, not to mention other resemblances which only reveal themselves when we look below the surface.

On the authority chiefly of the Old Latin version of the *Epistle*, which breaks off just before chap. xviii., it has been maintained that the following chapters do not properly

¹ This is in the style of the Midrash, which remarks on the words, "God seeketh that which is *pursued*" (Eccl. iii. 15), that He accepts for sacrifice, not birds and beasts of prey, but the innocent and persecuted ones.

belong to it. But as von Gebhardt and Harnack remark, in their edition of 1878, "Rendall authentiam horum capitum bene defendit." Something more, however, remains to be said after the discovery and publication (1883) of the *Teaching*; and this matter of the disputed integrity of the *Epistle* is now seen to be one of the cases in which "Not second thoughts are best, But first and third, which are a better first."

In the original Greek, chap. xvii. ends with the words, ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως. These lead up to the μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχὴν, with which the following chapter commences. But the Old Latin version of the *Epistle* breaks off abruptly with a rendering of the former words, *Hæc autem sic sunt*, and at once concludes with a doxology, which is thus introduced: *Habes interim de majestate Christi, quomodo omnia in illum et per illum facta sunt. Cui sit honor, virtus, gloria, nunc et in sæcula sæculorum. Explicit Epistola Barnabæ.*

The preamble to the doxology (it should be remarked) properly belongs to chap. xii., where the discourse of Barnabas on the mystery of the serpent of brass is rounded off with the words, ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτόν, to which there is nothing that corresponds in the Latin.

This, in its place, would have been rendered, "Habes iterum" (not *interim*). Compare in the same chapter, *Habes iterum de cruce. . . . Dicit autem iterum in Moyse . . . Et iterum dicit in alio propheta. . . . Quid dicit iterum Moyses? . . . Ecce iterum Iesus. . . . Iterum dicit Esaias.*

The ending in the Latin is clearly an artificial one; and now that the *Didaché* has been discovered, there is no difficulty in accounting for the premature conclusion of this version.

Eusebius, writing on the Canon in lib. iii. 25 of his

Ecclesiastical History, names as books open to objection or spurious, The Acts of Paul, The Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter; and then mentions in addition, *The Epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles*. Suppose this pair to have been transcribed, say in Latin, in one codex, in the order in which he names them; and it would not be surprising that the last chapters of the *Epistle* should be omitted, when it was noticed that they were merely an indifferent recension of part of the work following, added indeed to the *Epistle* by its author, but not in substance his own.

Now it so happens that we have a fragment of a Latin version of the *Didaché*, which was brought to light by von Gebhardt, and is published in an appendix to Harnack's edition of the manual (1884); and further, that this version, so far as it goes, corresponds in a remarkable manner with the description of the Two Ways by Barnabas. For it speaks of them as ways of light and darkness, and adds that there are two angels, one appointed over each; not to mention its omission of the greater part of chap. i., according to the text of Bryennios, of which omitted matter, whether or not any use was made by Barnabas, there is certainly at first sight no trace at all in his *Epistle*. And this makes it a not unnatural hypothesis, that the abbreviated letter of Barnabas may have been followed in some manuscripts by a *Doctrina Apostolorum*, like von Gebhardt's, which commences:

“*Viāe dūae sunt in seculo, vit̄ae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum. In his constituti sunt Angeli duo, unus æquitatis alter iniquitatis. Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum. Via ergo vit̄ae hæc est. . . .*”

But in any case we may fairly say that the abbreviator of the *Epistle* was acquainted with some form of the *Didaché*.

To return to Barnabas, we find him introducing his Two

Ways as follows: "But pass we on to yet another Knowledge and Teaching. *There are two ways of Teaching and Authority, that of light and that of darkness. And there is much difference between the two ways.* For over the one are set φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, and over the other ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. And the one is Lord from ages and unto ages; and the other Prince of this present season of lawlessness."

The Knowledge which he had been previously dilating upon was a knowledge of the mysteries of the Old Testament. From this he passes on to another *Gnosis*,¹ which is embodied in simple rules of duty; in both cases doubtless resting upon an authoritative teaching. This is sufficiently evident in the matter of the Two Ways, which he calls ways of *teaching and authority* (διδασχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας). At the end of his exposition of them, if the reading *ὅσα γέγραπται* in chap. xxi. 1 be correct, he refers to the *Didaché* apparently, or to some part of it, as already written.

This point will be further considered in its place, when chap. xix. on the way of "light" has been discussed.

Chap. xix.—1 *The way then of light is this—whosoever, as willing to pursue a way to the appointed place, would be diligent in his works. The Knowledge then that is given us to walk therein is on this wise. 2 Thou shalt love Him that made thee; thou shalt fear Him that formed thee; thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death. Thou shalt be single in heart, and rich in spirit. Thou shalt not cleave together with them that walk in the way of death.*

A variety of designations of the two ways were current, and Barnabas uses several of them, more or less at random. That he should show a leaning towards the names, way of *light*, and way of *darkness*, is in keeping with his ten-

¹ Notice the thanksgivings, ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως in chaps. ix. and x. of the *Didaché*.

dency to mysticism. But since in this same context (not to mention chap. xx.) he speaks of the "way of death," we need not doubt that this essentially simpler designation¹ was used in the tradition or writing on which his exposition of the ways is founded.

As in the case of the way of death (p. 316), so here the grammatical construction points to the *Didaché* as the original from which he drew, or at least as a true copy of it. He again interpolates in such a way as to alter the syntax, and *Apost. Const.*, vii. 1, after its own fashion, does likewise, reading: "First then is *the way of life*. And it is *this*, which the law also sets forth, *To love (ἀγαπᾶν) the Lord thy God, from all the heart, and from all the soul, the One and only one, beside whom there is none other, and thy neighbour as thyself.*"

Notice its "first" (πρώτη) without a *second*, which is an unmeaning survival from the balanced statement of the *Didaché*: "The way then of life is this. First (πρώτον) thou shalt love God that made thee. Secondly (δευτέρον) thy neighbour as thyself."

Barnabas omits the latter precept, and he expands the former by working into it, in his discursive way, sundry expressions suggested by his description of the way of death. "Thou shalt *fear* Him that *formed* thee," springs out of its, οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ . . . φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, and, "Be *single* in heart," out of its διπλοκαρδία, etc. He lets us know that he is mixing up the two ways

¹ What does he mean precisely by the way "of light?" He combines the image of a path leading ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον with that of "walking in the light," and he superadds angelic guides. But if angels are wanted to bring light to a path, or to bring those who walk in it to the light, what becomes of it as in itself the "way of light?" These φωταγωγοί have no proper opposites in Barnabas; nor yet in Didymus, who writes τοὺς μὲν ἀγίους φωταγωγοὶ φυλάττονσιν ἄγγελοι τοὺς δὲ φαύλους σκοτεινοί (Joan. Damasc., *Op.*, tom. ii. 309, ed. Lequien, 1712). In Barnabas, *Epist.* xx., the way of darkness becomes the way of the Black One. Angels or no angels, the figure of a way "of light" or "of darkness" is complex, and cannot have been primary.

by his express reference by anticipation to *the way of death*.

2 *Thou shalt hate all that is not pleasing to God, thou shalt hate all hypocrisy, thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord.*

The *Teaching* adds, *But shalt keep what thou didst receive, neither adding nor taking away*, and places the whole near the end of chap. iv. Whereas Barnabas separates, *Thou shalt not forsake, etc.* from *Thou shalt keep, etc.*, and places the one in chap. xix. 2, and the other in xix. 11.

This "remarkable dislocation," when once explained, is convincing testimony to the priority of the *Teaching*. Its explanation requires the reading, εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν, in chap. xix. 11, instead of the εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸν πονηρόν, which has so exercised the commentators.

This reading was first arrived at by way of conjectural emendation, as follows. The precepts, *Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy; Thou shalt hate all that is not pleasing to God;* taken in connexion with the phrase, *Not cleaving to that which is good* (from the *Way of Death*), bring to mind the verse Rom. xii. 9: ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος· ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν, κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ, the second clause of which suggested to me the reading τὸ πονηρόν in chap. xix. of the *Epistle* of Barnabas.

The whole saying comes in most appropriately as part of the peroration to the *Way of Life*. But it falls in with the plan of Barnabas to introduce it almost at the beginning. He altogether omits the saying, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*, and only introduces this topic in § 5. He writes: *Thou shalt love Him that made thee;* and then as soon as he has finished his digression springing out of the "way of death" and ending, οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου—he adds, *Thou shalt hate all that is not pleasing to God, etc.* That is to say, he makes this follow as nearly as may be on the command to *love God*.

The connexion is a not unnatural one. But when he comes to the end of the "way of light," he is conscious that the saying, *μισήσεις κ.τ.λ.*, is wanted again in the peroration. According he *repeats* it, in the abbreviated form, *εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν*, and not only so, but he prefixes to it a fragment of its proper context in the *Didaché*, *φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες μήτε προσθείς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν*.

For further confirmation of this hypothesis, see below on the penultimate section of the chapter.

3 *Thou shalt not exalt thyself (but shalt be lowly-minded in all things. Thou shalt not take glory to thyself.) Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not allow insolence to thy soul.*

"Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour," is a good example of a saying thrust in out of its proper place. By the words in brackets he further exemplifies his tendency to reduplicate. For a simple case of this, see in chap. xx., "*Far and at a distance* from whom are meekness and patience," where he expands the *ὦν μακρὰν* of the *Didaché*, into *ὦν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω*.

4. *Thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt youths. The word of God shall not go forth from thee among any that are unclean. Thou shalt not have respect of persons in rebuking any for a transgression. Thou shalt be meek, thou shalt be peaceable, thou shalt stand in awe of the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not bear malice against thy brother.*

The commandment, *Thou shalt not murder*, is omitted or taken for granted.

Those which next follow are not only stated in simple terms in this chapter, but are made to be the true and only meaning of certain prohibitions of unclean meats, on which he discourses in the manner of the Midrash in chap. x. The word *corrupt-youths* (*παιδοφθορήσεις*) is of

rare occurrence, and is found first in the *Didaché* or the *Epistle*, whichever be the earlier.

In the above-mentioned chapter he explains, *Thou shalt not eat of the hare*, to mean, "Thou shalt not become a corrupter of youths (*παιδοφθόρος*)." And he continues, "*Neither shalt thou eat at all of the hyena*, thou shalt not (saith he) become an adulterer or corrupter." Herein he exemplifies his tendency to *repeat*, and to *spiritualise*. He will not allow that there is any literal meaning at all in the command not to *eat* of this or that.

We next come to the saying, which has occasioned some difficulty, *οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν*. With this compare in chap. x.: "*Moreover he hath rightly abominated the weasel*. Thou shalt not (saith he) become such as those of whom we hear that they practise lawlessness with their mouth for uncleanness sake (*δι' ἀκαθαρσίαν*). . . . For this animal conceives with the mouth." Is there anything in the *Didaché* out of which he may have evolved the saying, *οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.*, by this method?

The saying at once recalls the familiar text (Matt. vii. 6) on not casting *pearls before swine, etc.*, a clause of which is thus introduced in the *Didaché*: "But let none *eat* or drink of your Eucharist but such as have been baptized in the name of the Lord.¹ For concerning this the Lord hath said, *Give not that which is holy to the dogs*" (chap. ix.).

On this Barnabas would have said: "So then there is no commandment of God with respect to eating, but the Lord spake in the spirit." "Man shall not live by bread alone." What it is commanded not to impart to the unclean is the Divine word.

¹ The uncircumcised might not eat of the Passover (Exod. xii. 48). These are joined with the *unclean* in Isaiah lii. 1. As for such as thought that there ever was anything in actual circumcision, Barnabas is of opinion that "a wicked angel beguiled them" (chap. ix. 4).

If he had had in mind the saying, *But let none eat of your Eucharist, etc.*, we may safely say that he would have spiritualised it into something like, οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ. It has been noticed above that he deliberately avoids all direct mention of the Eucharist.

5 *Thou shalt not be of doubtful mind whether a thing shall be or not. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain. Thou shalt love thy neighbour above thy life. Thou shalt not slay a child by abortion, nor again shalt thou put to death one that is born. Thou shalt not withhold thine hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from youth up thou shalt teach them the fear of God.*

He quotes the Third Commandment as the equivalent of, *Thou shalt not forswear thyself.*

His saying, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour above thy life*, brings out two of his characteristics. He *exaggerates*, and he *repeats* anything that makes an impression upon him. The *Teaching* says: "Thou shalt hate no man; but some thou shalt rebuke, and for some thou shalt pray, and *some* thou shalt love above thy life." It is in the style of a writer who describes those whom the Lord chose for His own apostles as the most abandoned of sinners, ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομιωτέρους (chap. v.), that he should here throw aside all limitations, and say generally, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour above thy life*. Consistently with this, he does not condescend to write in its place, after, *Love God*, "*and thy neighbour as thyself*," which must have been included in any manual or ordered scheme of instruction. He prefers his more rhetorical form of words. And he writes in chap. i., "I am utterly constrained to love you *above my life*"; and in chap. iv., "Furthermore, I beg of you this also, as being one of your own selves, and loving you *all severally above my life*."

6 *Thou shalt not become a luster after the things of thy neighbour. Thou shalt not become one that grasps at gain.*

Neither shalt thou be joined of thy soul's desire with the lofty, but with lowly and just men shalt thou converse. The visitations that befall thee thou shalt accept as good, knowing that without God nothing comes to pass.

Notice his use of γένη, *become*, to which I shall have occasion to recur.

It has been pointed out by Professor Thomas S. Potwin, in the *New York Independent* (Jan. 21, 1886), that Origen (according to the Latin) quotes this saying as Scripture, thus: "Propterea docet nos *Scriptura divina*, omnia quæ accidunt nobis tanquam à Deo illata suscipere, scientes quod sine Deo nihil fit."

It is assumed that Origen's quotation is from the *Teaching*; but it may be from Barnabas, who is referred to by name in the same chapter (*De Princip.*, lib. III. 2).

It is worth while to add in illustration of the saying as it stands in the *Teaching*, that a man is said, in the last chapter of the Mishnah on *Berakhoth*, to be bound to say a benediction over what is *evil*, or calamitous, just as he does over what is *good*,

חייב אדם לברך על הרעה כשם שהוא מברך על הטובה.

7 *Thou shalt not be double minded, neither double tongued; for to be double tongued is a snare of death. Thou shalt order thyself lowly to masters, as to an image of God, in shamefastness and fear. Thou shalt not give commandment to thy bondman or thy maidservant, that hope on the same God, in bitterness, lest they fear not Him that is God over you both. For He came not to call with respect of persons, but to them whom the Spirit did prepare (or for whom He prepared the Spirit).*

Here the reading, as assumed above, is: . . . οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ δίγλωσσία.

Von Gebhardt, in his text of 1878, reads briefly, . . . οὐδὲ γλωσσώδης. But Harnack, taking into account the

then unknown *Didaché*, writes in his commentary upon it (*Prolegom.*, p. 87), with reference to the text of the *Epistle* :—

“ Der Text, wie ihn von Gebhardt constituirt hat, erweist sich als vortrefflich ; nur ist c. 19, 7 mit G und *Διδαχή* (gegen *NC*), *παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία*, vielleicht zu halten.”

Barnabas, in the next paragraph, shows his tendency to repeat things (to some extent even with the reading of von Gebhardt), by saying, *οὐκ ἔση πρόγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ τὸ στόμα θανάτου*.

The clause, *For He came not, etc.*, is not quite free from ambiguity. Barnabas reads *ἦλθεν*, instead of *ἔρχεται*. Does the one refer to our Lord (Matt. ix. 13), and the other to such passages as, *I will come unto thee, etc.* (Exod. xx. 24)? Compare John xiv. 23.

8 *Thou shalt give a share in all things to thy neighbour, and shalt not say that they are thine own; for if ye are sharers in that which is imperishable, how much more in the things that are perishable. Thou shalt not be forward tongued; for the mouth is a snare of death. So far as thou art able, thou shalt be pure for thy soul's sake.*

He writes, *κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τῷ πλησίον σου*, instead of *συγκ. πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου*, which has the appearance of priority. His construction is that of Gal. vi. 6, where the command is to “communicate unto him that teacheth.”

The phrase *ὅσον δύνασαι*, in *ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις*, is quite characteristic of the *Didaché*, which teaches : “For if indeed thou art able¹ to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect. But if thou art not able, what thou art able, do. And concerning food, what thou art able, bear. But beware exceedingly of what is sacrificed to idols, for it is a service of dead gods.”

It cannot be maintained that such teaching, the equivalent of Acts xv. 28, 29, was suggested by the *Epistle*. On the

¹ *εἰ δυνατὸν, τὸ ἐξ ἑμῶν κ.τ.λ.* (Rom. xii. 18).

other hand, knowing how Barnabas is accustomed to deal with precepts "concerning food," we can see in it the basis of his ὅσον δύνασαι κ.τ.λ. The moderation of this phrase, naturally interpreted, is quite foreign to his style; but he may intend it to be taken in the sense, "To the uttermost of thy powers, etc," ἐφ' ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν . . . ἀγωνίζομεθα (chap. v. 11). Compare his exaggeration of the precept, to love *some* above one's life.

9 *Become not one that stretches out the hands to receive, but draws them in when he should give. Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye every one that speaketh to thee the word of the Lord.*

Here the *Teaching* reads: "My child, him that speaketh to thee the word of the Lord thou shalt remember night and day, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord, ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν."

The presumption is entirely in favour of the originality of this unique saying. The substitute for it in the *Epistle* is commonplace, the phrase ὡς κόρην κ.τ.λ. being such as any person acquainted with the Old Testament might use to adorn his discourse.

The key to the transformation is the word πάντα, *every one*, interpolated by Barnabas. His individualism revolts at the ascription of high honour to a teacher *ex officio*; and he will only admit that any person whatsoever who has the gift of teaching is to be loved. "I, then (writes he in chap. i.), not as a teacher, but as one of yourselves, will show forth a few things." "Wishing to write many things, not as a teacher, but as beseemeth one that loveth, I, your off-scouring, etc." (chap. iv.). He will not recognise the Christian prophets as an order, but speaks of "Himself prophesying *in us*" (chap. xvi.). The *Teaching* is for the "child"; the *Epistle* for the ἀνὴρ τέλειος. "Be your own lawgivers, your own counsellors. . . . Be ye taught of God" (chap. xxi.)

Given now, as we have seen (p. 403), that when he has a bias in favour of a reading *κυρίῳ* he can see this in the proper name *Κύρῳ*, conversely when it is against his principles to write *ὡς κύριον*, what can he do better than (so to say) change the pointing, *more rabbinico*, and write *ὡς κόρην*?

10 *Thou shalt remember the day of judgment night and day, and shalt seek out day by day the faces of the saints ; either by word going on toiling to exhort, and meditating for to save a soul by the word ; or by thy hands thou shalt work for ransom of thy sins.*

The variation, *Remember*, not thy teacher, but *the day of judgment, night and day*, follows naturally upon his previous improvements of the *Teaching*, of which he betrays a knowledge in its true form in chap. xxi., where he writes : “ And be ye taught of God, *seeking out* what the Lord seeks of you, and make that ye be found in the *day of judgment*. And if there is any remembrance of good, *remember me* as ye *meditate* on these things, that your desire and *watchfulness* may turn *unto somewhat good*.”

His *ἀγρυπνία εἰς τι ἀγαθόν* is clearly a reminiscence of *ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν*, in chap. v. of the *Teaching* (for which he writes, in chap. xx. 2, . . . *ἀγρ. οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ*), and the other words in italics prove that he is thinking of the passage which we are discussing, and that he knows it as it stands in the *Teaching* ; for he now says, *Remember*, not the day of judgment, but *me* that speak unto you the word of the Lord.

The remainder of chap. xix. 10 springs out of the two sayings of the *Teaching*, which he runs together :

(1) “Thou shalt seek out day by day the faces of the saints, that thou mayest rest thee on their words, *ἐπαναπαῆς (sic) τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν*.”

(2) “If thou have in thine hands, thou shalt give in ransom for thy sins.”

First consider (2), of which the Greek is :

ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου.

Write this, with a transposition :

ἐὰν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἔχῃς δώσ—εις [or, as in *Apost. Const.*, δὸς εἰς] κ.τ.λ.

It is a light thing for Barnabas to transform ἔχῃς δώσ [or δός] into ἐργάση, and he can do it without doing violence to the sense; for whereas the original means, “Give alms for ransom of thy sins,” his saying would mean, “Earn—labour with thy hands, that thou mayest have to give (Eph. iv. 28)—for ransom of thy sins.” Two verbs having been made into one, the syntax requires ἐὰν to be changed into ἦ. This he does, and he gives as an alternative to a somewhat unspiritual precept: ἦ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακάλεσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, on which von Gebhardt and Harnack aptly refer to James v. 19, 20.

Notice that the word λόγος is a connecting link between this and the saying (1); and further, that he uses the rather uncommon compound, ἐπαναπαυόμενοι (Rom. ii. 17) towards the end of his fourth chapter, where it is not strictly appropriate.

Thus far all is intelligible. By saving souls, and by giving alms of the labours of his hands, the man may hope to “hide a multitude of sins.” All difficulty would now be removed by reading, “Thou shalt seek out day by day the faces of *publicans and sinners*,” to exhort and to save souls by the word. But the reading is *saints*, not *sinners*; and the catechumen, or person under instruction, is directed in the *Didaché* to frequent the company of the saints, that by their godly counsel he may be kept in the right way.

11 *Thou shalt not doubt whether to give, neither shalt thou grudge when thou givest; but thou shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt keep what*

thou didst receive, neither adding nor taking away. Thou shalt altogether hate evil. Thou shalt judge righteously.

The saying, εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν, preceded by φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες κ.τ.λ., has been explained as one of the repetitions which are so frequent in the *Epistle*. It fits here into the place of a longer saying of the *Didaché*, which Barnabas has already given near the beginning of the chapter (p. 408).

The reading τὸ πονηρόν is now confirmed by the Bryenios manuscript, which also gives significance to the fact that **Σ** reads simply πονηρόν, with neither τό nor τόν. Thus there is no preponderance of documentary evidence for the reading τὸν πονηρόν. Neither does this so well agree with the usage of Barnabas elsewhere. Compare in chap. iv., φύγωμεν οὖν τελείως ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀνομίας . . . καὶ μισήσωμεν τὴν πλανὴν τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, and again, φύγωμεν ἀπὸ πάσης ματαιότητος, μισήσωμεν τελείως τὰ ἔργα τῆς πονηρᾶς ὁδοῦ.

Notice also in the Way of Death, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν . . . ἀγρυπνοῦντες . . . εἰς τὸ πονηρόν.

Considering further how aptly the saying, *Thou shalt altogether hate evil*, comes in as part of the peroration to the Way of Life, we need not hesitate to accept a reading which, while defensible on documentary grounds, is distinctly preferable on all others.

It is worth noting that the Coptic "Church Order" has the saying, "Flee from all evil, and *hate all evil*;" for it is a document which borrows from Barnabas, as when it writes, *Be ye lawgivers to your own selves; be ye teachers to yourselves alone, as God hath taught you.*

12 Thou shalt not cause division, but shalt reconcile and set at peace them that are at strife. Thou shalt not come to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of light.

The *Didaché* enjoins confession of sins "in the congregation," while Barnabas writes simply, ἐξομολογήση, in

accordance with Matt. iii. 6. The word itself implying *open* confession, no great stress need be laid on the addition or omission of *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, but it is perhaps under the influence of an unconscious reminiscence of the *Didaché*, that Barnabas in chap. vi. quotes, as from some Psalm, but not quite exactly, *ἔξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ κ.τ.λ.* Compare Levit. v. 5, 6, and chap. xiv. of the *Didaché*. To omit *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, because it seemed to limit the duty of confession, would have been entirely characteristic of Barnabas.

We thus see that everything in the "way of light" may be explained as a working up of the "way of life," in accordance with the known characteristics of Barnabas. There are some things in the latter of which we have as yet found no trace in the *Epistle*; but it will be considered in due course, whether he does not show signs of an acquaintance with these also.

His "way of the Black One," has been shown (p. 316) to be a later recension of something identical in form with the "way of death" according to the *Didaché*.

The next point to be considered is, whether he was acquainted with a *written* form of the *Two Ways*, if not of the *Teaching* as a whole.

The Way of Light was introduced with the words, *ἐστὶν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη.*

At the end of the *Two Ways* he writes: *καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶν μαθόντα τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου, ὅσα προγεγραπται (?) ἐν τούτοις περιπατεῖν* (chap. xxi.).

The *δικαιώματα κυρίου* would primarily be sought in the Old Testament; but the phrase covers also the *ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς*, which he joins in chap. xvi. 9 with the *σοφία τῶν δικαιωμάτων*. Notice that the *Didaché* consists of *ἐντολαί*, and compare his *ὁδοὶ διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας* in chap. xviii., and this with *ὁδ. τῆς διδαχῆς* in the *Didaché* (chap. vi).

The impression that in chap. xxi. he is looking back upon

the precepts of the *Two Ways*, is confirmed by the chapter taken as a whole, which shows that these are still in and uppermost in his thoughts; as might have been expected, seeing that they immediately precede.

The following words and phrases of chap. xxi. are plain proof of this: διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάστασις, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνταπόδομα . . . ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς οὓς ἐργάσησθε τὸ καλὸν μὴ ἐγκαταλείπητε . . . ἄρατε ἐξ ὑμῶν πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν . . . ἐκζητοῦντες . . . ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως . . . μνημονεύετε μου μελετῶντες ταῦτα . . . ἀγρυπνία εἷς τι ἀγαθόν . . . ἐκζητεῖτε . . . σώζεσθε ἀγάπης τέκνα κ.τ.λ.

The Way of Death ends with, *Be ye delivered, children, from all these*. Barnabas, in view of the speedy termination of his *Epistle*, omits this in its place, and writes at the end, σώζεσθε τέκνα κ.τ.λ.

It would not be doubted that he includes the teaching of the *Two Ways* under his δικαιώματα κυρίου, but for the reading ὅσα γεγράφται, which the latest editors adopt, instead of ὅσα προγεγράφται. How does this really affect the matter?

The strong presumption that he is referring to the *Two Ways* remaining as before, we must suppose him (unless γεγράφται means προγεγράφται) to include a written Διδαχή under his ὅσα γέγράφται. If this means that he classed it in a sense with Holy Scripture, he thereby prepares the way for Clement of Alexandria, who distinctly quotes one of its sayings as such; not to mention that Origen quotes a saying common to the *Teaching* and the *Epistle* as *Scriptura divina* (p. 412).

If by his ὅσον δύνασαι κ.τ.λ. and his οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ., or either of them, he allegorizes a saying or sayings of the *Teaching* (pp. 410, 413), this of itself is to treat it as he does the Old Testament, and to rank it with Scripture; for he must simply have rejected sayings which he utterly repudiates in their literal sense, if he had not placed them on a level with *Scriptura divina*.

Noticing by the way that his *διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάστασις* (implying a partial resurrection) may have sprung out of the *ἀνάστασις ἀλλ' οὐ πάντων* of the *Didaché*, I pass on to consider whether the two apparent gaps in his citations from chaps. i.–vi. of the manual as we have it can be supplied.

(1) He seems to cite only the beginning of chap. i., and to make no use of the probably later additions to it, from *Bless them that curse you*, to the end.

(2) Nothing is (so to say) so original in the *Two Ways* as the series of sayings commencing, *My child*, in chap. iii. Can he have been unacquainted with these?

(i.) The most remarkable saying in chap. i. is, *ἰδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου*. In my *Two Lectures* on the *Διδαχή* I have interpreted this as meaning, *Give alms of thy toil and sweat*. Any homily or scheme of instruction on almsgiving would be incomplete without some such precept. Compare Acts xx. 35 and Eph. iv. 28. The precept *ἰδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* is quoted in substance in the *Shepherd of Hermas* and in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, but without the expression “sweat,” for *toil*. Barnabas, in chap. xix. 10, combines the two precepts, *Labour to have to give*, and *Give for ransom of thy sins*, writing, *ἡ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργασία εἰς λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου*, and in chap. xxi. 2 he writes, *Have with you those, εἰς οὓς ἐργάσησθε*, saying in effect, *ἰδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.*, though not using the word *sweat* in this connexion. But whereas the *Teaching* inculcates the duty of working for one’s living in the words, *ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω* (chap. xii.), in this sense he uses the expression “toil and sweat” (p. 403). Thus, like the *Teaching*, he says, *Labour to live*, and *Labour to give*; and he uses the same two expressions for “labour,” but transposes them.

As the precept *ἰδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ.* is preceded in the *Teaching* by *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου*, so in the *Epistle* (chap. xix. 11) there is a reading: “Thou shalt not *doubt* (*διστάσεις*) whether to give, neither shalt thou grudge when thou givest.

To every one that asketh of thee give." This (it should be remarked) is in close agreement with the words of Hermas in *Mand.* 2, . . . μὴ διστάζων τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς πᾶσι δίδου.

Mr. Rendall, on Barnabas, writes (1877): "On the whole, I incline to retain the words (*To every one*, etc.). Whether they should be regarded as an accidental coincidence, or as a quotation from Luke vi. 30, or as an adaptation of Matt. v. 42, or as derived from some written or oral source independent of either Gospel, may be left undecided."

The Bryennios text must now be added to the authorities for the omission of the words. But his text of the *Didaché* is a witness on the other side. The authorities are divided very much as in the case noticed under chap. xix. 7 (p. 413).

If Barnabas really quotes the contrasted sayings on almsgiving, *Give to every one*, etc., and *Let thine alms sweat*, etc.; and if, as is quite possible, these were added only at the final redaction of the *Teaching*; the presumption is that he was acquainted with the whole of it. If, on the contrary, he did not quote both or either of them, then it is only not proven that he knew the *Teaching* in its *latest and fullest form*.

(ii.) The most characteristic section in the first part of the *Teaching* is the series of sayings on the Commandments (from the Sixth onward), commencing, *My child, flee from all evil, and from all that is like to it. Become not* (μὴ γίνου) *irascible*, etc. To this belongs, *My child, him that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord . . . thou shalt honour as the Lord*. It springs out of the Fifth Commandment (as *Apost. Const.*, vii. 9, indicates, by adding οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἵτιον); and the Fifth takes the place of the last in the second table, as in Matt. xix., *Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother*.

If these sayings form a connected series, and if, as has been shown, Barnabas knew the last of them, it seems to follow that he knew the whole series. It was not to be expected that a writer of his spiritualising turn of mind would draw the line between evil tendencies and actual transgressions, as the *Teaching* does; but he gives us further reason to think that he was acquainted with its third chapter when he writes (chap. iv.), "*Flee* we then completely from all the works of lawlessness. . . . *Flee* we from all vanity: let us hate completely the works of the *evil way*"; and when in chaps. iv. and x. he reiterates the caution not to be *made like*, not *even* like, to sinners. Neither is it without significance that he writes, "Thou shalt not *become* one that lusts after (instead of οὐκ ἐπιθυμῆσεις) the things that are thy neighbour's" (p. 412), the repeated μὴ γίνου being characteristic of chap. iii. of the *Teaching*.

The citations (if such they be) of Barnabas from the *Teaching* have now been shown to range over the whole of chaps. i.-vi.; and it remains to compare his *Epistle* with the second part of the *Teaching*, chaps. vii.-xvi.

In his fourth chapter, in which we have found allusions to the "evil way," and to chap. iii. of the *Teaching*, there is also a well-known passage agreeing with its chap. xvi. on the last things: "Wherefore take we heed in the last days; for the whole time of your (life and) faith shall profit you nothing, except now in the lawless season, and in the coming offences, as becometh sons of God ye withstand," etc. If here the *Epistle* quotes the *Teaching*, and not *vice versâ*, this raises more or less of a presumption that Barnabas knew the whole of it. It may be held to be a sufficient refutation of this to say that he does not quote at all from chaps. vii.-xv. But, on the other hand, (1) these are chiefly made up of ordinances relating to the Sacraments and the Ministry of the Church, which we know that he

would have passed over in his *Epistle* if he had them before him, and (2) he does take up and illustrate the leading *ideas* of the second part of the *Teaching*, and explains those very sayings in it which have troubled all the commentators, and which some have thought it necessary to emend.

THE ΔΙΔΑΧΗ. CHAPTERS VII.—XVI.

Chap. vii. *On Baptism*. There is nothing in this chapter that Barnabas would have cited. He has a good deal to say in a mystic way about baptism, but would not have dwelt on distinctions between warm and cold water, and the like.

Chap. viii. He does in effect say, "Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites" (chap. iii.); but it was certain, *a priori*, that he would not write, "Be careful to fast every Wednesday and Friday." Neither is there any reason to think that he would have quoted the complete Lord's Prayer, or any other.

Chaps. ix., x. *The Eucharist*. We have seen that he deliberately avoids all mention of the Eucharist, and it was not to be expected that he would quote forms of prayer or thanksgiving as such. But there are reasons to think that he may have been acquainted with both of these chapters. If he was familiar with the thanksgivings ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας, and ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως, this would account for his reading, τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς πίστεως (instead of τῆς πίστεως), in chap. iv. 9 (p. 422), and for his use of all those words in chap. i. 5-7.

Chap. ix. On the saying οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ., see p. 410.

Chap. x. Nothing is more characteristic of Barnabas than his doctrine that the individual heart is the true spiritual temple. "The one central temple is wholly done away; the term is preserved only metaphorically; each man's heart became a temple" (Rendall). This, it may be

said, is the idea of Eph. iii. 17, *κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*, but something more is wanted to account for his way of putting it; and that is found only in one of the forms of thanksgiving in the *Didaché*.

According to chap. xvi. of the *Epistle*, "It is written, *And it shall be when the week is ending, the temple of God shall be built gloriously upon the Name of the Lord*. I find, then, that there is a temple. How then it shall be built upon the Name of the Lord, learn ye. Before that we believed in God, the habitation of the heart was corrupt and sickly, a temple truly built with hands: because it was full of idolatry, and was a house of devils, in that we did all things contrary unto God. But *it shall be built upon the Name of the Lord*. How? Learn ye. Having received the remission of sins, and having hoped upon the Name of the Lord, we became new, being created again from the beginning; wherefore in that habitation of ours God truly dwelleth within us."

No one can say in what Scripture this building of the temple is predicted. Barnabas has been speaking of the Creation week (chap. xv.), of which he makes each day to be a thousand years; and he may therefore have evolved his *τῆς ἑβδομάδος συντελουμένης* from the *συντελέσειν* of Gen. ii. 2. In any case it is more than possible that his Scripture never existed quite as he quotes it, except in his quotation; for he makes bold to give even the command to "sanctify the sabbath," with his own addition, *χερσὶν καθαρῶν καὶ καρδίᾳ καθαρῇ*.¹ This (as I have said) he does twice over; and in the second case (chap. xv. 6) "actually proceeds to build an argument on words which are an arbitrary addition of his own to the Mosaic enactment" (Rendall).

¹ Compare the *θυσία καθαρὰ* appointed for the service of the Lord's Day, in chap. xiv. of the *Teaching*.

A text for his discourse in the passage under discussion is supplied by chap. x. of the *Teaching*: "We give thanks to Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy *Name* which Thou hast made to dwell in our hearts." The heart is the *לֵב* or *σκήνωμα* (Ps. lxxiv. 7) of the Name; a true *ναός* or spiritual temple. But this form of expression is too pronounced a Hebraism for Barnabas. Accordingly he prefers to say that "God" dwells in the heart. But he adds and reiterates that this temple of the HEART is built upon the NAME of the Lord.

Chaps. xi.-xv. *On the Christian Ministry*. The individualism of Barnabas shows itself in relation to the ministry. He feels with Moses: "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His spirit upon them." Every true Christian should be a *προφήτης* or *πνευματικός* (1 Cor. xiv. 37). "Become we spiritual: become we a perfect temple to God" (chap. iv. 11). . . . *αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν προφητεύων* (chap. xvi. 9). Accordingly he has nothing to say about orders of prophets, and the like, under the new dispensation. But he has one point of contact with this section in "the prophets of old time," *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφήται*, and he gives an illustration which shows what is meant by the saying on the "cosmic mystery."

The *Teaching* lays down that a Christian prophet is not to be judged of men, if he does something, *εἰς μυστήριον* . . . *ἐκκλησίας*, which it is not lawful to do in a private way and without such reference, *for even so likewise did the prophets of the former dispensation*. They did such things, *εἰς μυστήριον Χριστοῦ*, as another writer puts it. But let Barnabas speak for himself.

(1) He says generally that the words and acts of the prophets had reference to Jesus:

οἱ προφήται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν (chap. v. 6).

ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτόν (chap. xii. 7).

(2) The latter passage, ἔχεις πάλιν κ.τ.λ., refers to the brazen serpent, which Moses made, in defiance of his own prohibition of images, "that he might show a type of Jesus," ἵνα τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δείξῃ. He did something which he expressly taught others not to do; and his justification was that he did it εἰς μυστήριον.

This special illustration might be taken to sanction the use of art and symbolism in religious teaching. But the principle that "all things were εἰς αὐτόν" is, of course, of wider application. It was in fact used generally to explain anomalies in what the ancient "prophets" taught by word or deed.

Chap. xvi. *On the last things.* Difficulties have been found in two expressions in this chapter. Barnabas explains both of them.

(1) "Then shall mankind come into the furnace of trial, and many shall be offended and perish; but they that endure in their faith shall be *saved by the very curse.*"

He gives several illustrations of this; but I will notice only one, which itself was felt to be a difficulty before the discovery of the *Didaché*.

Speaking of the red heifer (Num. xix.) he says:—

"But wherefore the wool withal and the *hyssop*? Because . . . he that is sick in the flesh is healed by the pollution (ῥύπου) of the *hyssop*" (chap. viii.).

On this Mr. Rendall writes: "ῥύπου presents great difficulties. No good emendation to the passage has been proposed."

The same word ῥύπος, in chap. xi. 11, means the defilement of sin, which is removed by baptism. That corruption should be the means of healing is a case of the paradox of Salvation by the Curse. A volume might be filled with illustrations of this. The *Didaché* explains itself by say-

ing, in chap. iii., that visitations (ἐνεργήματα) which are *prima facie* evil are to be accepted as good. To them that continue in faith, "All things work together εἰς ἀγαθόν" (Rom. viii. 28).

(2) Lastly, the "sign of outspreading (ἐκπετάσεως) in heaven" is explained in chap. xii. of the *Epistle* by the application of Isaiah lxx. 2, "*All the day long have I spread out (ἐξεπέτασα) my hands,*" etc., to the Crucifixion. For further illustrations of this, and of the saying on the μυστήριον κοσμικόν, and of the salvation ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος, I must again refer to my *Two Lectures* on the *Διδαχή*.

And now, to return to the point from which we started, Barnabas writes in chap. xx.: ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σκολιὰ καὶ κατάρως μεστή. ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστὶν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν τὰ ἀπολλύοντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατρεία κ.τ.λ., ἀφοβία. διῶκται τῶν ἀγαθῶν κ.τ.λ., πανθαμάρτητοι.

He omits ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων, because he purposes to write shortly after at the end of his *Epistle*, σώζεσθε ἀγάπης τέκνα κ.τ.λ. The curious transition to διῶκται κ.τ.λ., which is not at all in his style, raises a distinct presumption that he is here a copyist; and this is confirmed by the clause, ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστὶν θανάτου κ.τ.λ., which is a palpable *addition* of his own. On a bare comparison of the two documents, one can see no reason why the Way of Death, according to the *Didaché*, should not be said to be the archetype of chap. xx. of the *Epistle*.

The "way of light" differs much more from the "way of life"; but all the variations are in the proper style of Barnabas. He reduces order to chaos by his free handling of his subject matter, his inveterate habit of repetition, and his purpose of writing not merely for the neophyte but for the πνευματικός, who is to preach and save souls by the word, instead of sitting at the feet of the saints.

What remains of the *Διδαχή* does not contain much that he could have made use of. But he does write as he must have written if he had the latter part of it (chaps. vii.-xvi.) also before him. He is impressed by its most striking ideas; he explains the very sayings in it which were least transparent; and he altogether omits little or nothing except what it might have been safely predicted that he would omit.

Thus far it does not appear why Barnabas should not have drawn from the *Διδαχή* in its entirety. Something might be said on extraneous grounds in favour of a hypothetical common original to which both were indebted; but as against the view of the earlier editors of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, I am disposed to go a step further than to hold it "kaum für glaublich" that one of its main sources should have been the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

C. TAYLOR.

A MISUNDERSTOOD PARABLE.

OUR Saviour's parables are not chance similitudes gleaned from the surface of things; they are living analogies, drawn from the core of nature. This stamp of Divine authorship belongs to the figurative language of Scripture generally; but it pre-eminently characterises our Lord's symbolic lessons. Such images, for example, as the Sower and the Seed, the Shepherd and the Sheep, the Vine and its Branches, do not flash a momentary lustre and then vanish. They are fixed stars of wisdom, by whose light we may always guide our thoughts. The mere poetic simile is a picture, which must not be touched or taken from its frame. The true parable is an instrument which yields to the familiar touch ever fresh music.

Hence the canon, that in order to interpret our Lord's parables, the first step is to make sure of an accurate knowledge of the natural fact or facts on which they are based. We may have this, and yet miss His meaning; but if we neglect this, we are sure to go astray. Thus, for instance, no one is prepared to expound the tenth chapter of St. John's Gospel who is ignorant of the actual relations of a Syrian shepherd and his flock. The beauty and aptness, if not the meaning, of the great parable of the Sower will be missed, if we do not come to it with such a vivid picture before our minds of the labours of the Galilæan husbandman as Dr. Thomson or Dean Stanley may furnish to those who have not been so happy as to visit the Holy Land. The parable of the Tares will be misread, if we are not aware that under this name is intended a plant closely resembling wheat in its earlier growth—of the same genus, but poisonous.

Of all our Lord's parables, there is none regarding which this canon of interpretation has been so signally neglected as the PARABLE OF THE LEAVEN. The difficulty of the parable is obvious. Alone among our Lord's parables it presents a similitude which seems in the nature of things unsuitable, as well as inconsistent with the prevailing use of the same image in Scripture. Leaven is *sour dough*—a piece of dough in that initial stage of decomposition or putrefaction in which it is capable (like yeast, and some other substances) of setting up the wonderful chemical process called "fermentation" in the fresh dough into which it is kneaded. Hence, in itself it is an image of corruption and death. Nothing could seem less fit to stand as a symbol of the purifying, life-giving power of the gospel, or of the kingdom of Christ.

Accordingly, in every other instance in which leaven is symbolically used, either in the Old or New Testament, it is in an evil sense. The law of Moses contains repeated

prohibitions of the use of leaven in any sacrifice, whether of animal life or of food (Lev. ii. 11). The exceptions (Lev. xxiii. 17; vii. 13) were (a) the two *wave-loaves*, presented at the Feast of Harvest (Pentecost), as representing the ordinary daily bread of which God's harvest-bounty had provided another year's supply; and (b) the leavened cakes presented with peace-offerings, as part of the feast which was to follow the sacrifice. But no leaven must be laid on the altar. The profane disregard of this law is rebuked by the prophet Amos (iv. 5).

Our Saviour symbolises under this image the hypocrisy of the Pharisees. St. Paul warns us that "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," and bids the Corinthians "purge out the old leaven," and "keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

We can therefore scarcely be surprised if some able and learned students of Scripture have maintained that what is represented in this parable is the corruption, not the growth, of the kingdom of Christ; the spread, not of life-giving truth, but of deadly error, through Christendom. This view, plausible as it may seem, is refuted by the fatal objection pointed out by Trench, Stier, and other writers, that in this case the parable would foretell the *entire corruption* of the whole kingdom of Christ; for "*the whole was leavened.*" This would be in flat contradiction to the teaching of the other parables.

Is it then a satisfactory explanation to say, with Dean Plumptre (in Bishop Ellicott's Commentary), that the leaven "here becomes, in the mode of teaching which does not confine itself within the limits of a traditional and conventional symbolism, the type of influence for good as well as evil"? Or to say, with Stier and Alford, that the key to the meaning is in what the latter calls "*the power which it possesses of penetrating and assimilating a foreign mass,*

till all be taken up into it"? "Penetrating"? Yes. "Assimilating"? No. This word shows we are on a wrong tack. If the action of the leaven were to transform the mass into its own likeness, the result would be a large lump, instead of a small morsel, of sour dough. The process of fermentation which the leaven sets up consists in a chemical action by which the sugar in the flour is converted into alcohol and carbonic acid, both of which pass away invisibly in the heat of the oven. The notable thing is, that the leaven, in doing its work, perishes. If the bread "*rises*" well (as housewives term it), and is well baked, it comes out of the oven light, wholesome, and palatable, but with no trace of alcohol, carbonic acid, or sour leaven. The bitter taste of yeast may sometimes be discerned in bread; but if so, it is because so far the process has failed. If the leaven has done its work well it vanishes into that invisible realm which underlies phenomena.

Does not this give us the key to the true and deep meaning of the parable? The corruptible leaven, perishing and vanishing, but doing a work which outlasts it, is the means of satisfying hunger and sustaining life. Even thus, the AGENCY by which God carries on the great work of meeting the spiritual hunger and feeding the spiritual life of mankind, is the ministry of frail men, whose work is perishable, yet immortal. "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us."

In this, as in all else, our Saviour is the great Exemplar. It was of His own work that He said, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit." Because those He was to redeem were partakers of flesh and blood, He took the same dying nature—"made in the likeness of sinful flesh." What appeared to friends and foes alike, as they stood round the Cross, His complete and ignominious failure, was

His supreme victory. By death He became the Author of life. He disappeared from our world that He might carry on His work upon earth more effectively than if He had remained. He vanished from men's eyes that He might be enshrined and enthroned in their hearts.

Human ministry obeys the same law, but with the additional stamp of moral frailty—error, inconstancy, and sin. Men die, but their work endures; men err, but they hand on the torch of truth. Their formulas of thoughts grow obsolete. Their theology becomes unintelligible. Their church systems break to pieces, or stiffen into hindrances to church life and work. The controversies, in which their own side seemed to them identical with the cause of Christ, are painfully studied by a handful of students in dead languages, or in volumes long out of print. Their fiery watchwords are cold and meaningless to their successors. But did they live and toil and fight in vain? A thousand times, No! They sowed the harvest that still feeds the world. They contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints; and that faith cannot perish, though helm and hauberk, crossbow and matchlock—the weapons of their warfare—have long been hung up to rust. It is but the perishing of the corruptible leaven when its work is done.

We hear much and often of the failure of Christianity; the decline of faith, zeal, love, piety; the decay of religion. It has always been so. The law of Christ's kingdom on earth is, Divine truth brought to bear on men's hearts and lives by human ministry. Just because the ministry is human it bears the stamp of narrowness and defect, and carries in it the seeds of failure. But so far as it is a ministry of Christ's word, "it liveth and abideth for ever." We need not turn for illustration to the religious movements of our own day, or of the last century, or of the Reformation, though these supply it in abundance. Take

a wider range. The most astounding fact in the history of the kingdom of Christ on earth is the apostasy of the Catholic Church, which casts its colossal shadow over long centuries—dimly and feebly apprehended, for lack of study, by the mass of modern Christians. More significant and instructive still, because so close to the fountain-head of Christianity, is the failure of the Apostolic Churches. Those who had run well were hindered. Those before whose eyes Jesus Christ had been evidently set forth, were bewitched that they should not obey the truth. Paul lived to write of the scene of his most devoted and successful labours, "All they who are in Asia are turned away from me." Peter and Jude denounce the incoming flood of heresy, immorality, and ungodliness, whose rising waves were already breaking over the Church. The Beloved Apostle survived to see the evil rapidly and, as it seemed, irresistibly developing, and to be the amanuensis of those terrible epistles from the Head of the Church to the Churches of Sardis and Laodicea, which disclose a state of things we might else have well deemed incredible before the close of the Apostolic age.

Christianity a failure? Christ's Church a failure? Christ's kingdom a failure? Christian missions a failure? Yes; in the same sense in which the Apostolic Churches were a failure, Nicene Christianity a failure, mediæval Catholicity a failure, the Reformation a failure. Man fails. God, working through man, cannot fail. Forms change. Truth abides. The corruptible leaven perishes. The incorruptible Bread of Life is as ready and able to-day, as when Jesus multiplied the loaves, to meet the deepest craving of souls that pray, "Lord, evermore give us this bread!"

EUSTACE R. CONDER.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

XVII.

THE PRESENT CHRISTIAN LIFE, ARISEN LIFE.

“If then ye were raised together with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated on the right hand of God. Set your mind on the things that are above, not on the things that are upon the earth. For ye died, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, *who is our life*, shall be manifested, then shall ye also with Him be manifested in glory.”—*Col. iii. 1-4* (Rev. Ver.).

WE have now done with controversy. We hear no more about heretical teachers. The Apostle has cut his way through the tangled thickets of error, and has said his say as to the positive truths with which he would hew them down. For the remainder of the letter, we have principally plain practical exhortations, and a number of interesting personal details.

The paragraph which we have now to consider is the transition from the controversial to the ethical portion of the Epistle. It touches the former by its first words, “If ye then were raised together with Christ,” which correspond in form and refer in meaning to the beginning of the previous paragraph, “If ye died with Christ.” It touches the latter because it embodies the broad general precept, “Seek the things that are above,” of which the following practical directions are but varying applications in different spheres of duty.

In considering these words we must begin by endeavouring to put clearly their connexion and substance. As they flew from Paul’s eager lips, motive and precept, symbol and fact, the present and future are blended together. It may conduce to clearness if we try to part these elements.

There are here two similar exhortations, side by side.

“ Seek the things that are above,” and “ Set your mind on the things that are above.” The first is *preceded*, and the second is *followed* by its reason. So the two laws of conduct are, as it were, enclosed like a kernel in its shell, or a jewel in a gold setting, by encompassing motives. These considerations, in which the commandments are imbedded, are the double thought of union with Christ in His resurrection, and in His death, and as consequent thereon, participation in His present hidden life, and in His future glorious manifestation. So we have here the present budding life of the Christian in union with the risen, hidden Christ; the future consummate flower of the Christian life in union with the glorious manifested Christ; and the practical aim and direction which alone is consistent with either bud or flower.

I. The present budding life of the Christian in union with the risen, hidden Christ.

Two aspects of this life are set forth in verses 1 and 3—“ raised with Christ,” and “ ye died, and your life is hid with Christ.” A still profounder meaning is in the words of verse 4, “ Christ *is* our life.”

We have seen in former papers that Paul believed that, when a man puts his faith in Jesus Christ, he is joined to Him in such a way that he is separated from his former self and dead to the world. That great change may be considered either with reference to what the man has ceased to be, or with reference to what he becomes. In the one view, it is a death; in the other, it is a resurrection. It depends on the point of view whether a semicircle seems convex or concave. The two thoughts express substantially the same fact. That great change was brought about in these Colossian Christians, at a definite time, as the language shows; and by a definite means—namely, by union with Christ through faith, which grasps His death and resurrection as at once the ground of salvation, the

pattern for life, and the prophecy of glory. So then, the great truths here are these ; the impartation of life by union with Christ, which life is truly a resurrection life, and is moreover, hidden with Christ in God.

Union with Christ by faith is the condition of a real communication of life. "In Him was life," says John's Gospel, meaning thereby to assert, in the language of our Epistle, that "in Him were all things created, and in Him all things consist." Life in all its forms is dependent on union in varying manner with the Divine, and upheld only by His continual energy. The creature must touch God or perish. Of that energy the Uncreated Word of God is the channel—"with Thee is the fountain of life." As the life of the body, so the higher self-conscious life of the thinking, feeling, striving soul, is also fed and kept alight by the perpetual operation of a higher Divine energy, imparted in like manner by the Divine Word. Therefore, with deep truth, the psalm just quoted, goes on to say, "In Thy light shall we see light"—and therefore, too, John's Gospel continues : "And the life was the light of men."

But there is a still higher plane on which life may be manifested, and nobler energies which may accompany it. The body may live, and mind and heart be dead. Therefore Scripture speaks of a three-fold life : that of the animal nature, that of the intellectual and emotional nature, and that of the Spirit, which lives when it is conscious of God, and touches Him by aspiration, hope, and love. This is the loftiest life. Without it, a man is dead while he lives. With it, he lives though he dies. And like the others, it depends on union with the Divine life as it is stored in Jesus Christ—a conscious union by faith. If I trust to Him, and am thereby holding firmly by Him, my union with Him is so real, that, in the measure of my faith, His fulness passes over into my emptiness, His righteousness into my sinfulness, His life into my death,

as surely as the electric shock thrills my nerves when I grasp the poles of the battery.

No man can breathe into another's nostrils the breath of life. But Christ can and does, and this true miracle of a communication of spiritual life takes place in every man who humbly trusts himself to Him. So the question comes home to each of us—am I living by my union with Christ? do I draw from Him that better being which He is longing to pour into my withered, dead spirit? It is not enough to live the animal life; the more it is fed, the more are the higher lives starved and dwindled. It is not enough to live the life of intellect and feeling. That may be in brightest, keenest exercise, and yet we—our best selves—may be dead—separated from God in Christ, and therefore dead—and all our activity may be but galvanic twitching of the muscles in a corpse. Is Christ our life, its source, its strength, its aim, its motive? Do we live in Him, by Him, with Him, for Him? If not, we are dead while we live.

This life from Christ is a *resurrection* life. "The power of Christ's resurrection" is threefold—as a seal of His mission and Messiahship, "declared to be the Son of God, by His resurrection from the dead;" as a prophecy and pledge of ours, "now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept;" and as a symbol and pattern of our new life of Christian consecration, "likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be indeed dead unto sin." This last use of the resurrection of Christ is a plain witness of the firm, universal and uncontested belief in the historical fact, throughout the Churches which Paul addressed. The fact must have been long familiar and known as undoubted, before it could have been thus moulded into a symbol. But, passing from that, consider that our union to Christ produces a moral and spiritual change analogous to His resurrection. After all, it is the moral and not

the mystical side which is the main thing in Paul's use of this thought. He would insist, that all true Christianity operates a death to the old self, to sin and to the whole present order of things, and endows a man with new tastes, desires and capacities, like a resurrection to a new being. These heathen converts—picked from the filthy cesspools in which many of them had been living, and set on a pure path, with the astounding light of a Divine love flooding it, and a bright hope painted on the infinite blackness ahead—had surely passed into a new life. Many a man in this day, long familiar with Christian teaching, has found himself made over again in mature life, when his heart has grasped Christ. Drunkards, profligates, outcasts, have found it life from the dead; and even where there has not been such complete visible revolution as in them, there has been such deep-seated central alteration that it is no exaggeration to call it resurrection. The plain fact is that all real Christianity in a man will produce in him a radical moral change. If our religion does not do that in us, it is nothing. Ceremonial and doctrine are all means to an end—making us better men. The highest purpose of Christ's work, for which He both "died and rose and revived" is to change us into the likeness of His own beauty of perfect purity. That risen life is no mere exaggeration of mystical rhetoric, but an imperative demand of the highest mortality, and the plain issue of it is: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body." Do I say that I am a Christian? The test by which my claim must be tried is the likeness of my life here to Him who has died unto sin, and liveth unto God.

But the believing soul is risen with Christ also, inasmuch as our union with Him makes us partakers of His resurrection as our victory over death. The water in the reservoir and in the fountain is the same; the sunbeam in the chamber and in the sky are one. The life which flows into our spirits from Christ is a life that has conquered

death, and makes us victors in that last conflict, even though we have to go down into the darkness. If Christ live in us, we can never die. "It is not possible that *we* should be holden of *it*." The bands which He broke can never be fastened on our limbs. The gates of death have been so warped and the locks so spoiled when He burst them asunder, that they can never be closed again. There are many arguments for a future life beyond the grave, but there is only one proof of it—the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. So, trusting in Him, and with our souls bound in the bundle of life with our Lord the King, we can cherish quiet thankfulness of heart, and bless the God and Father of our Lord who hath begotten us again into a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.

This risen life is a *hidden* life. Its roots are in Him. He has passed in His ascension into the light which is inaccessible, and there is hidden in its blaze, bearing with Him our life, concealed there with Him in God. Faith stands gazing into heaven, as the cloud, the visible manifestation from of old of the Divine presence, hides Him from sight, and turns away feeling that the best part of its true self is gone with Him. So here Paul points his finger upwards to where "Christ is, sitting at the right hand of God," and says—We are here in outward seeming, but our true life is there, if we are His. And what majestic, pregnant words these are! How full, and yet how empty for a prurient curiosity, and how reverently reticent even while they are triumphantly confident! How gently they suggest repose—deep and unbroken, and yet full of active energy! For if the attitude imply rest, the locality—"at the right hand of God"—expresses not only the most intimate approach, but also the wielding of the Divine omnipotence. What is the right hand of God but the activity of His power? and what less can be ascribed to Christ here, than His being enthroned in closest union with the

Father, exercising Divine dominion, and putting forth Divine power. No doubt the ascended and glorified bodily manhood of Jesus Christ has a local habitation, but the old psalm might teach us that wherever space is, even there "Thy right hand upholds," and there is our ascended Lord, sitting as in deepest rest, but working all the work of God. And it is just because He is at the right hand of God that He is hid. The light hides. He has been lost to sight in the glory.

He has gone in thither, bearing with Him the true source and root of our lives into the secret place of the Most High. Therefore we no longer belong to this visible order of things in the midst of which we tarry for a while. The true spring that feeds our lives lies deep beneath all the surface waters. These may dry up, but it will flow. These may be muddied with rain, but it will be limpid as ever. The things seen do not go deep enough to touch our real life. They are but as the winds that fret, and the currents that sway the surface and shallower levels of the ocean, while the great depths are still. The circumference is all a whirl; the centre is at rest.

Nor need we leave out of sight, though it be not the main thought here, that the Christian life is hidden inasmuch as here on earth action ever falls short of thought, and the love and faith by which a good man lives can never be fully revealed in his conduct and character. You cannot carry electricity from the generator to the point where it is to work without losing two-thirds of it by the way. Neither word nor deed can adequately set forth a soul; and the profounder and nobler the emotion, the more inadequate are the narrow gates of tongue and hand to give it passage. The deepest love can often only "love and be silent." So, while every man is truly a mystery to his neighbour, a life which is rooted in Christ is more mysterious to the ordinary eye than any other. It is fed

by hidden manna. It is replenished from a hidden source. It is guided by other than the world's motives, and follows unseen aims. "Therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew Him not."

II. We have the future consummate flower of the Christian life in union with the manifested, glorious Christ.

The future personal manifestation of Jesus Christ in visible glory is, in the teaching of all the New Testament writers, the last stage in the series of His Divine human conditions. As surely as the Incarnation led to the cross, and the cross to the empty grave, and the empty grave to the throne, so surely does the throne lead to the coming again in glory. And as with Christ, so with His servants, the manifestation in glory is the certain end of all the preceding, as surely as the flower is of the tiny green leaves that peep above the frost-bound earth in bleak March days. Nothing in that future, however glorious and wonderful, but has its germ and vital beginning in our union with Christ here by humble faith. The great hopes which we may cherish are gathered up here into three words—"We shall be manifested." That is far more than was conveyed by the old translation—"shall appear." The roots of our being shall be disclosed, for He shall come, "and every eye shall see Him." We shall be seen for what we are. The outward life shall correspond to the inward. The faith and love which often struggled in vain for expression and were thwarted by the obstinate flesh, as a sculptor trying to embody his dream might be by a block of marble with many a flaw and speck, shall then be able to reveal themselves completely. Whatever is in the heart shall be fully visible in the life. Stammering words and imperfect deeds shall vex us no more. "His name shall be in their foreheads"—no longer only written in fleshly tables of the heart, and partially visible in the character, but stamped legibly and completely on life and nature. They shall walk

in the light, and so shall be seen of all. Here the truest followers of Christ shine like an intermittent star, seen through mist and driving cloud: "Then shall the righteous *blaze forth* like the sun in the kingdom of My Father."

But this is not all. The manifestation is to be "with Him." The union which was here effected by faith, and marred by many an interposing obstacle of sin and selfishness, of flesh and sense, is to be perfected then. No film of separation is any more to break its completeness. Here we often lose our hold of Him amidst the distractions of work, even when done for His sake; and our life is at best but an imperfect compromise between contemplation and action; but then, according to that great saying, "His servants shall serve Him, and see His face," the utmost activity of consecrated service, though it be far more intense and on a nobler scale than anything here, will not interfere with the fixed gaze on His countenance. We shall serve like Martha, and yet never remove from sitting with Mary, rapt and blessed at His feet.

This is the one thought of that solemn future worth cherishing. Other hopes may feed sentiment, and be precious sometimes to aching hearts. A reverent longing, or an irreverent curiosity, may seek to discern something more in the far-off light. But it is enough for the heart to know that "we shall be ever with the Lord"; and the more we have that one hope in its solitary grandeur, the better. We shall be with Him "in glory." That is the climax of all that Paul would have us hope. "Glory" is the splendour and light of the self-revealing God. In the heart of the blaze stands Christ; the bright cloud enwraps Him, as it did on the mountain of transfiguration, and into the dazzling radiance His disciples will pass as His companions did then, nor "fear as they enter into the cloud." They walk unconcerned in that beneficent fire, because with them is one like unto a Son of man, through whom

they dwell, as in their home, amidst "the everlasting burning," which shall not destroy them, but kindle them into the likeness of its own flashing glory.

Then shall the life which here was but in bud, often unkindly nipt and struggling, burst into the consummate beauty of the perfect flower "which fadeth not away."

III. We have the practical aim and direction which alone is consistent with either stage of the Christian life.

Two injunctions are based upon these considerations—"seek," and "set your mind upon," the things that are above. The one points to the outward life of effort and aim; the other to the inward life of thought and longing. Let the things above, then, be the constant mark at which you aim. There is a vast realm of real existence of which your risen Lord is the centre and the life. Make it the point to which you strive. That will not lead to despising earth and nearer objects. These, so far as they are really good and worthy, stand right in the line of direction which our efforts will take if we are seeking the things that are above, and may all be stages on our journey Christwards. The lower objects are best secured by those who live for the higher. No man is so well able to do the smallest duties here, or to bear the passing troubles of this world of illusion and change, or to wring the last drop of sweetness out of swiftly fleeting joys, as he to whom everything on earth is dwarfed by the eternity beyond, as some hut beside a palace, and is great because it is like a little window a foot square through which infinite depths of sky with all its stars shine in upon him. The true meaning and greatness of the present is that it is the vestibule of the august future. The staircase leading to the presence chamber of the king may be of poor deal, narrow, crooked, and stowed away in a dark turret, but it has dignity by reason of that to which it gives access. So let our aims pass through the earthly and find in them helps to the things that are above.

We should not fire all our bullets at the short range. Seek ye first the kingdom of God—the things which are above.

“Set your mind on” these things, says the Apostle further. Let them occupy mind and heart—and this in order that we may seek them. The direction of the aims will follow the set and current of the thoughts. “As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.” How can we be shaping our efforts to reach a good which we have not clearly before our imaginations as desirable? How should the life of so many professing Christians be other than a lame creeping along the low levels of earth, seeing that so seldom do they look up to “see the King in His beauty and the land that is very far off”? John Bunyan’s “man with the muck-rake” grubbed away so eagerly among the rubbish, because he never lifted his eyes to the crown that hung above his head. In many a silent, solitary hour of contemplation, with the world shut out and Christ brought very near, we must find the counterpoise to the pressure of earthly aims, or our efforts after the things that are above will be feeble and broken. Life goes at such a pace to-day, and the present is so exacting with most of us, that quiet meditation is, I fear me, almost out of fashion with Christian people. We must become more familiar with the secret place of the most High, and more often enter into our chamber and shut our doors about us, if in the bustle of our busy days we are to aim truly and strongly at the only object which saves life from being a waste and a sin, a madness and a misery—“the things which are above, where Christ is.”

“Where Christ is.” Yes, that is the only thought which gives definiteness and solidity to that else vague and nebulous unseen universe; the only thought which draws our affections thither. Without Him, there is no footing for us there. Rolling mists of doubt and dim hopes warring with fears, strangeness and terrors wrap it all. But if He be

there, it becomes a home for our hearts. "I go to prepare a place for you"—a place where desire and thought may walk unterrified and undoubting even now, and where we ourselves may abide when our time comes, nor shrink from the light nor be oppressed by the glory.

"My knowledge of that life is small,
The eye of faith is dim,
But 'tis enough that Christ knows all,
And I shall be with Him."

Into that solemn world we shall all pass. We can choose whether we shall go to it as to our long-sought home, to find in it Him who is our life; or whether we shall go reluctant and afraid, leaving all for which we have cared, and going to Him whom we have neglected and that which we have feared. Christ will be manifested, and we shall see Him. We can choose whether it will be to us the joy of beholding the soul of our soul, the friend long-loved when dimly seen from afar; or whether it shall be the vision of a face that will stiffen us to stone and stab us with its light. We must make our choice. If we give our hearts to Him, and by faith unite ourselves with Him, then, "when He shall appear, we shall have boldness, and not be ashamed before Him at His coming."

ALEXANDER MACLAREN.

THE BOOK OF ZECHARIAH.

III. VISION OF THE CANDLESTICK.—ZECH. iv.

THE preceding vision was meant to convey to the Jews the assurance that their high priest Joshua was re-instated as the religious head of the nation; this vision was meant to give a similar assurance regarding Zerubbabel, their civil head. The people might well be in doubt and despondency

regarding him. He was apparently no David. He was not the man for a great emergency, however he might have acquitted himself in quiet times as a kind of lay figure on a throne. Born a captive, the son of a captive, he seemed to have inherited or acquired something of the craven spirit of the slave. He had a great opportunity, such an opportunity as enables a man of force to make a mark in history, but the opportunity was too great for one of his calibre. And naturally enough his own feeling of insufficiency infected the people with timidity and doubtfulness. They began to wonder whether he was recognised by God as David's heir; whether they could ever prosper under him. The Persian monarch had recognised his rank, but would God any longer make use of David's line as a channel of blessing to men, after the kings of Judah had so shamefully abused their position? As yet no success had attended his efforts. For nearly twenty years he had been baffled even in his attempt to build the Temple. Ought not this to be interpreted as meaning that God had disowned him?

In these circumstances this vision is given to Zechariah that Zerubbabel and the people may receive the assurance that he is as truly God's anointed king, endowed with power from God to do His work, as ever any of his forefathers had been. This assurance is conveyed in a twofold form, by word and by vision.

In express terms Zechariah is assured that failure and impotence would not throughout characterize the government of Zerubbabel. What he had begun, he would also finish. The great and central task of rebuilding the Temple would be accomplished. "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundations of this house; his hands shall also finish it." The stone destined to top and complete the building, and which had probably been lying for years in the hewer's shed, would at last be brought forth with shouts of triumph both from the builders and the assembled crowds.

The enthusiasm of the people would be kindled by seeing their old temple restored, their fears would all be forgotten, and the air would ring with invocations of blessing. This enthusiasm would culminate when Zerubbabel with plummet and square, trowel and mallet, fixed in its place the topstone, and prayed that the seven eyes, representing God's perfect providence, would watch over it.

This carried with it a rebuke to those who, as the prophet says, "despised the day of small things," the people who cannot believe that a seed will ever become a tree. The old men who had seen the former temple were not slow to show their contempt for the new building. With the pardonable admiration of the institutions and ways of their youth, which characterizes old men, they tottered round among the builders and told them what a different kind of look things had when they were young. They wept over the fallen state of the Temple. But their weeping was ill-timed, inconsiderate, and disheartening. The confidence of youth is often blamed, but it is needed to bear up against the depreciation of the present which is dinned into their ears by those who can see no good in anything but that in which they were the chief actors. But to despise the day of small things is to secure that we shall never glory in a day of great things. For the path to what is great lies through what is small. We ourselves do not come into the world full-grown; neither does anything else. It is God's law to produce great things by degrees, by growth from what is small. And if we throw away the seed because it is so small, and decline to have anything to do with what is not great and conspicuous, we lose our opportunity. It is by doing the little things that lie to our hand that we sow for ourselves all that is greatest and happiest in eternity. "He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much;" and will have opportunity of showing it.

These assurances were embodied in a vision full of instruction for all time. Among the various appointments of the original Tabernacle constructed by Moses, a conspicuous place was given to a massive lampstand, which had seven lamps, not branching out horizontally but rising in one perpendicular plane. The sanctuary was a tent without windows, and light was required. But the purpose of the candlestick was not solely to give light. Like everything else in the Tabernacle it was symbolical. And it is not difficult to discern what it was meant to symbolise. Light is the natural emblem of knowledge. We speak of the mind being enlightened or illuminated. As it is light which enables the bodily eye to see things clearly, so it is knowledge or information which enables the mind to apprehend things. The light which filled the Tabernacle or house of God was symbolical of the knowledge of God. And as this knowledge of God is maintained in the world by the instrumentality of the Church, the Church is symbolized by the candlestick which serves to hold the lights. When John in the Apocalypse saw a vision with similar symbolism, it was thus interpreted to him: "the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches." It is the Church which by its purity of life and teaching is to impart to men the knowledge of God.

But whence is this light derived? The light which illuminated the Tabernacle, was not a natural but an artificial light, fed by an oil for which the prescription was given from above, and which it was sacrilege to use for ordinary purposes. And this was plainly meant to convey the idea that the light which served to carry on God's service was a light fed from a supernatural source. Some free-thinking Jew might with much plausibility have said, Why should not God be worshipped under the glorious canopy of heaven with the brilliance of His own sun to symbolize the clear light that He delights in; why are we to worship

Him in a close stifling tent into which no sun ever penetrates, and which must be illumined by a hot artificial light? Let us come out into the free air of heaven and worship God as He is revealed in nature. But those who saw more deeply would say, The sun, just because its light is a part of our natural inheritance, is not an adequate symbol of a light which certainly does not shine upon all men alike. It is not that order of nature in which all men live that teaches them to know God. Nature misleads quite as often as it suggests right views of God. We see in nature what might well make us think of God as either impotent or cruel. "I have long ago found out," says a recent student of nature, "how little I can discover about God's absolute love or absolute righteousness from a universe in which everything is eternally eating everything else. . . . Infinite creative fancy it reveals, but nothing else." It is with a sense of unutterable satisfaction we turn from nature to Him who says, "I am the Light of the world." And it is because there is in Christ that which human nature, as we know it, could not have produced, that He is a light to men. It is not a natural but an artificial and supernatural light which best symbolizes that which brings to us the power of seeing God.

To a Jewish mind, then, filled with this symbolism, the vision of the candlestick with its lights fed from a sufficient source, signified that the Church of God was still to be maintained in full efficiency, and was to prove a light to the world and a glory to God. When Zechariah walked about the ruined town; when he saw the empty houses with grass growing in the doorways and birds nesting in the best rooms; when he saw the blackened walls of the old temple, and the new walls barely above ground and left now for years without a stone added, pools of water where the altar should have stood, and the wind blowing through the space which the holy of holies should occupy, he might

well think the glory was for ever departed, that the Church of God had proved a failure, that there was no revelation, no care of God for men, no true knowledge of the unseen, but each man left to guess as he could and worship what he pleased. But when he saw this clear waking vision of the golden candlestick in all its former splendour, the persuasion was ineradicably wrought in his mind that this vision was from God, and that God therefore saw no reason to despair of His Church, but was even now providing for its re-establishment in all its former glory. Zechariah had shared in the prevailing despondency. He did not see what good could be accomplished by men of so little pith as Zerubbabel and the rest. He saw how easily they had been cowed by the Samaritans. He had watched them narrowly for years; he had taken their measure, and he despaired of them as the root or beginning of any noble undertaking or any fruitful work. Such men could never shine as lights in the world. Such feeble, incompetent persons could only bring disgrace upon religion.

But it was now made clear to Zechariah's mind that he had been wrong, not perhaps in his judgment of his contemporaries, but in forgetting one Contemporary of whom he had made no account. "Not by might, nor by power"—so far he was right, there was neither might nor power—"but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." He is reminded of the source of the Church's light, and it is revealed to him that the oil which feeds this light—the Spirit, that is, which produces right action and God-glorifying results in men—flows from an inexhaustible source beyond the light itself; so that you cannot ever measure the light by looking at the wick or at the amount of oil each bowl can contain, but only by looking at the source whence the oil is supplied. Now, in this vision, with immense significance, the oil was seen to be derived from two *living* olive trees growing beside the candlestick—obviously to teach Zechariah that

though the bowls might be very small, the supply out of which the bowls could be refilled was inexhaustibly large, a living fountain of oil.

To complete the vision another essential feature was added. The prophet's attention is directed to two tubes or spouts which communicate between the trees and the lamp-bowls, and are said to be the two "oily ones," or "sons of oil," that stand by the Lord of the whole earth. To a mind like Zechariah's, living in a world of symbol, these sons of oil would at once suggest the two great offices to which men were consecrated by anointing, the kingly and the priestly. These offices were at present in a depressed and despised condition, but assurance was now given that God still held them in honour, and would through them communicate to men all that was needed for a brilliantly effective and exemplary life. Joshua, the high priest, and Zerubbabel, the king, in the exercise of their high and influential functions would still be the medium through which God would bring Himself into human life.

The translation of this vision into terms which show how closely it concerns ourselves is no difficult task. We need the vision as much as Zechariah needed it. There is much open to our consideration which tends to suggest thoughts as gloomy as those which darkened the hopes of Zechariah. Learning as we do to take our own measure, we become convinced of our littleness, of our incapacity to shine, our inability to remove ignorance, our helplessness in presence of surrounding and oppressive darkness. We live alongside of persons whose vices are quite well known to us, and they seem in no way the better for us, in no way struck by our virtues. We recognise that if the remainder of our life is to be as defective in high motive and as unprofitable in result as the past has been, the image of a brilliant light is no fit image for our life. The world derides the pretensions of the Church, makes merry over her decay, mocks her

small achievements; and however unreasonable it is to do so, it is still possible.

When discouraged by the ridicule or silent contempt of men, when we see how little they take the Church's force into account, when it is treated as Greece or Montenegro is treated by the first-rate powers of Europe, and when, worst of all, we become profoundly convinced of our blundering methods, of our beating the air, of the feeble and inefficient assaults we make upon the dense masses of evil around us, of our waste of time in polishing and adorning weapons which are then carefully hung up as trophies and are never used in actual warfare, when saddened and disheartened by our own incompetence and futility, this vision recalls us to a reasonable ground for more hopeful thoughts. For all the work required from us there is an unfailing supply of grace. It is not the lamp that has to produce the oil; it has not to make the most of one supply, but there is a constant flow into it from without. And we are not called upon to create a holy spirit for ourselves, nor have we to maintain a loving and serviceable disposition upon the unused drops of past experience which may yet be squeezed out by a lively memory. Holiness sufficient for all moral beings exists in God. There is that in Him which can sustain in goodness the spirit of each. The Holy Spirit is equal to all demands that can be made upon Him. The Holy Spirit is God; so that as there is in God life enough for all creatures, a strength sufficient to maintain in being all that is, so there is in God a holiness sufficient for the need of all. There is strength and grace enough in God to carry through the whole work that this world requires. In God there is patience, love, wisdom, sacrifice; in a word, goodness enough for the overcoming of all evil. And this goodness is communicable.

This goodness is communicable, and it is through Christ it is communicated. When we translate into New Testa-

ment language what Zechariah says of the "oily ones," we gather that the Church now is supplied with oil to burn and shine withal through the kingly and priestly offices of Christ. And translating this technical language again into the language of living fact, we are brought face to face with the truth that each man receives the spirit of Christ and is enabled to live as Christ lived in the service of men and to the glory of God, in so far as He submits himself to Christ's rule and is truly reconciled to God through Christ. The lights of the vision burned brightly when the tubes connecting them with the olive trees were kept clear and clean; and we receive spirit enough for all that is required of us when we practically recognise Christ as our King and Priest, when we keep ourselves in a real and spiritual connexion with Him. If we wish to shine so as to help and guide others, if we see the need of being and doing more than hitherto, then what we must in the first place do, is to allow ourselves to be so swayed by Christ as to be drawn into true sympathy with the Father and to be possessed by Christ's views of life and by His disposition. In point of fact it is thus we receive the Spirit of God. Let a man recognise what life is given him for, let him recognise how far short his life has been from accomplishing the great objects of life, let him in the shame of having been found unworthy of the trust God has given him and in the consciousness of having defiled and unfitted himself for God's service, turn to God for pardon, cleansing and strength; let him see the possibilities of good that remain to him, let the idea of a life spent for God and for good possess him, and let him believe Christ's offer to give him such a life; and that man will receive the very strength he needs and will yet shine with the light of Christ.

We may use this subject then, first, for rebuke, and second, for encouragement. It is for our rebuke, when we despair of success in any good project; when in view of our

own deficiencies we reckon on failure even at the very time when we seem to be aiming at success. Indolence, timidity, unbelief, selfishness, all shelter themselves under this acknowledged inability. There are malingerers in every good work as well as in war. We see well enough what needs to be done, but we are not the people to do it. We have not position, we have not means, we have not mental capacity, we have not stability of purpose, we have not presence of mind, we have not readiness of speech, we have not health, we have not ability to organize. We look in despair at the deep-seated sores of society, and for all that we do these sores may deepen daily. It is a pity things are as they are; it is a pity so many in this prosperous land should starve, should grow up knowing nothing but vice; the biggest problems of a healthy social state have yet to be solved; but what can *we* do? Our whole past life tells us we are feeble. "Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit," this is the uniform answer to all such apologies, which the Lord of hosts gives.

There is also encouragement in the vision. God is our unfailing source of grace. What is right to be done and ought to be done, God has provided us with the means of doing. He does not expect lamps to burn without oil. He sends none of us a warring on his own charges. If it is our duty to do good, then we can do it, for God is with us a living source of good purpose and of perseverance. Many need this encouragement. There are those who singly or in combination are engaged in some labour or enterprise, whose object it is, not to make money nor to bring themselves into good repute, but to improve the character or condition of some of their fellow-citizens. Such persons cannot forecast the future without foreseeing serious obstacles, prejudices, counter-interests, selfish contentment with things as they are, "the blind opposition of the ignorant, the bitter opposition of the vicious;" and

above all they foresee the probability of their own patience failing, or of their wisdom proving insufficient. Or there are parents who are perplexed by the way their children are growing up; they feel the extreme difficulty of influencing them as they would wish, the impossibility of securing that they shall turn out just as they would desire. Or there are persons whose domestic life has long been of a distressing kind, and who are always looking forward to the time when at length their temper must give way, their forbearance come to an end, their determination to live on the highest principles fail them. To such persons this vision says: There is no necessity for any such spiritual catastrophe; there will always be grace enough for you. It may be through weariness and pain, through disappointment and anxiety your path is to lie, but through it all you can come victorious. Provision sufficient is already made for you. All of us, looking forward and seeing how much we have to pass through before our probation is over, recognising what an unlimited capacity for blundering and evil-doing there is in us, may very naturally fear that we shall yet do more harm than good in the world, and permanently injure those whom we fain would help. To us all comes this serious assurance that nothing will be required of us for which strength will not be given; that between us and the inexhaustible spring of goodness there is an open communication; that if it is impossible for God to fail in goodness of will and of energy, it is as impossible that He should withhold the communication of this goodness from any one who is confronted by duty and who is willing to fulfil God's purposes by using God's help,

That there is an ever springing source of goodness, an ever renewed supply of moral life, this is the gladdening truth the vision calls us to remember. There is, we know, a sufficient source of physical life which upholds the universe and is not burdened; which continually, in every place,

and exuberantly, brings forth life in inconceivably various forms ; a source of life which seems rather to grow and expand than to be wearied. So there is a source of spiritual life, a force sufficient to uphold us all in righteousness of life and in eternal vigour of spirit ; a force which to all eternity can give birth to new and varied forms of heroic, godly, and holy living ; a force ever pressing forwards to find utterance and expression through all moral beings, and capable of making every human action as perfect, as beautiful, and infinitely more significant than the forms of physical life we see around us. If the flowers profusely scattered by every wayside are perfect in beauty, if the frame and constitution of man and of the animals are continually surprising us by some newly discovered and exquisite arrangement of parts, we may reasonably suppose that there is as rich a fountain of moral and spiritual life. Nay, "the youths shall faint and be weary,"—the physical life shall fail—"but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength ; they shall mount up with wings as eagles ; they shall run and not weary ; and they shall walk and not faint."

MARCUS DODS.

FRANZ DELITZSCH.

IF a brilliant career as an academic teacher, a fertile literary faculty, and a long life of conspicuous devotion to Christian work, both practical and scientific, are any title to honour, the subject of this sketch will be cheerfully accorded a distinguished place among the men of his time. Franz Delitzsch is a household name with students of Scripture all the world over. To many it is a name to conjure with. The ideal writer, if we accept Joubert's definition, is the man whose mind is always loftier than

his thoughts, and his thoughts loftier than his style. It may be said with some truth that in Franz Delitzsch the scholar is higher than the author—so much has he written, and yet so great are the stores of learning and ideas which seem to lie behind. Without any qualification it may be affirmed that in him the man is more than the scholar. The spell lies in his frank, vigorous, sympathetic personality. He has the strongest religious convictions and the most pronounced theological opinions, for which he has always been ready to do manful battle. But there is a deeper thing in him than these. There is a Johannine fire of love in his nature, which gleams in his eye and makes the real mark of the man. This is the open secret of the magnetic influence which he has carried about him in his different scenes of labour, through burning controversies, and in all the chances of a period of theological restlessness and change. Wherever he has settled he has become the centre of a great circle of devoted friends, colleagues, and pupils. It has not been with him as it has been with so many of the notable occupants of the German Chairs of Theology. These have been doomed to see the once crowded classes dwindle as years increased and new voices claimed to be heard. Even an Ewald could command at last but a handful of auditors. But after a connexion extending over half a century with the universities of his fatherland, Franz Delitzsch is still a chief attraction of one of the largest seats of learning. There are few theologians, nevertheless, of whom it is so difficult to form a just estimate. This is due not only to the variety of his gifts, the subtlety of his speculations, and the extreme diversity of subject exhibited by his literary record, but above all else to a personal character, which goes far to disarm criticism in those who know him best. In attempting a brief notice of his career we do not pretend that it shall be critical. Long enjoyment of the

great boon of his friendship, the grateful sense of many obligations, heartfelt regard for the man himself, forbid it.

Franz Delitzsch is a native of the city in which he is still a teacher. He was born on the 23rd February, 1813, the child of parents in humble condition. His life-long interest in Israel has sometimes led to its being supposed that he was himself originally a Jew or the son of converts from Judaism. But it is not so. He was baptized a Christian child in the Church of St. Nicholas, Leipsic, on the 4th March, 1813. He had his education, both elementary and academic, in the city of his birth. He attended the Rathsfreischule there, a seminary well abreast of the times. The methods of Pestalozzi and Lancaster were making way in Germany, mainly through the influence of G. F. Dinter, Professor of Theology at Königsberg, President of the Board of Education, and author of the *Schullehrer-Bibel*—a book which excited great attention. In his first school Franz Delitzsch had the advantage of the training of men who taught in Dinter's spirit. He passed in due time into the Nicolai Gymnasium, and there began to learn the Hebrew language. On entering the University, however, he was fascinated by the speculative questions which were then under discussion, and gave himself with consuming energy to philosophical studies. The two teachers who exercised the greatest influence over him during his university course were Heinroth, the psychologist, and August Hahn, who afterwards became General-Superintendent in Silesia. Both were men of note. The position occupied by Hahn in particular was a remarkable one. He had lost his early faith when a student in Leipsic. He had found it again in Wittenberg, in the recently established Preachers' Seminary, where Heubner, Schleusner, and Immanuel Nitzsch were teaching. Receiving a call to a Professor's Chair and to the post of preacher in St. Paul's Church, he returned to Leipsic in 1826, and at

once stood forth as the champion of Supranaturalism in face of the prevailing Rationalism. His energetic antagonism to the negations of the time created a conflict in the university which compelled thinking men to reconsider the claims of the old faith. It was of lasting importance to the enthusiastic and receptive student that at this critical period he was brought into close contact with a man like Hahn, whose ambition was to ally culture with positive Christian faith, and in whom the Christian spirit was so vivid.

There were others, however, to whom he was indebted for much in these days of his youth—for more indeed, as he still recognises in his old age, than to any of his professional instructors. During his course in the gymnasium he had been a stranger to the spiritual power of Christian truth. The Person and the Work of Christ were under the veil to him. It was in the university, and by the help of a variety of influences, that he came to see things clearly. Foremost among these influences was the fellowship of a number of Christian friends, who had been brought together for a time in Leipsic, soon to be scattered abroad, not a few of them to America. He owed much to this little company of earnest men, and in the dedication of his book on the *Church as the House of God*, he has made grateful acknowledgment of his spiritual debt. He became acquainted also with two missionaries of the London Missionary Society, Messrs Goldberg and Becker, who were helpful to him in various ways. They kindled in him the flame which still burns—zeal for Israel's evangelisation. They directed his mind to the literature of the Jews. A change in the bent of his studies accompanied the change in his personal attitude to religion. The energy which had been spent on philosophy was given now to Hebrew. The gain of a living faith, the enthusiasm for the winning of Israel, the choice of Oriental learning as his vocation in life, came hand in hand.

The first Rabbinical writing which he mastered was the tractate *Light at Eventide*, and he read it with the missionary Becker. He secured also the instructions of Dr. Julius Fürst, the well-known Hebrew lexicographer, himself of Jewish extraction. His association with Fürst who, in spite of his theories as to biliteral roots and the like, was a man of extensive erudition and a very competent teacher, was of great use to him. It lasted over ten years, and made him familiar with the genius of the Jewish writers. He worked also with Fürst in the preparation of his Concordance, and obtained generous recognition of his services in that connexion in the Preface to that laborious work.

His academic training being over, he qualified in 1842 as a university teacher. He had some time to wait before a suitable appointment was found. But in 1846 he received a call to a Professorship in Rostock. This was followed, in 1850, by an invitation to Erlangen, and for the next sixteen years he taught with distinguished success there. This Bavarian university was then the centre of great theological activity. It reckoned among its professors an unusual number of eminent men, some of whom still survive, but the most are no more. Gottfried Thomasius, the author of the well-known *Christi Person und Werk*, and the man who has perhaps the best title to be regarded as the projector of the modern Kenotic theory of Christ's Person, was lecturing on Dogmatics. Spiegel was teaching Arabic and Zend. Frank, the author of the *System der christlichen Gewissheit*, and now one of the foremost men, was beginning to make his mark. Herzog was toiling at his *Real-Encyclopaedie*, Karl von Raumer, the author of *Palaestina*, in spite of his great weight of years, was still receiving students and entertaining them with recollections of Schiller and Goethe. A son of Hegel's was teaching history, a son of Schelling's was teaching jurisprudence. Von Zezschwitz and Ebrard were in the town or the neighbourhood, the one working at his

Katechetik, the other preparing his *Apologetik*, and lecturing on the history of the Celtic Church of Ireland and Scotland. And not to mention others, von Hofmann was at the acme of his influence, drawing around him audiences which it was difficult to accommodate, opening up new views of Scripture, and inspiring all with his own great reverence for the Word of God. These two men, Delitzsch and Hofmann, above all others, were the life of the university. They differed in many respects, but they were ever loving and sympathetic friends, labouring with one mind for the advancement of Biblical science. Erlangen had held of old an eminent place in exegetical studies. Hermann Olshausen and other pioneers of better methods had taught there. These two men, Delitzsch in the province of the Old Testament, and von Hofmann in that of the New, raised it to the front rank of exegetical schools.

Delitzsch's connexion with Erlangen terminated in 1867. His departure was a severe loss to the university. He had done much to make it a rallying point for earnest-minded, evangelical scholars. One met there not only students of many nationalities, both European and American, but theologians of note from Britain and the United States as well as from Norway, Sweden, Russia, and nearer countries. And the reputation of Franz Delitzsch was one of the great forces which drew them thither. Since the year named he has held a Professorship in Leipsic, teaching with his wonted assiduity, and gathering round him choice youths from many lands. Honours too numerous to detail have been conferred upon him, and it may be safely said that there is no man more revered in town or university. He has had his own share of family joys and sorrows. One of his sons, after a distinguished career as a student, obtained an Extraordinary Professorship in Leipsic, in 1875. But he died the year after, leaving behind him an unfinished work of much promise on the *Doctrinal System of the Roman*

Catholic Church. Another son, Friedrich, made his mark at an early age in philological studies, and since 1877 has held a Chair in the same university. He has won a distinguished reputation by his contributions to Assyriology, in which science the mantle of his friend, the late George Smith of the British Museum, has in large part fallen upon him.

It is natural to think of Franz Delitzsch first and above all else as a Hebraist. He is much more, however, than that. His exuberant talent has cut for itself a number of channels, in each of which it has run to some profit. The mass of his writings, great and small, is nothing short of enormous. They evince a rare versatility as well as extraordinary industry and productiveness. The languages, the interpretation of Scripture, Biblical Introduction, Textual Criticism, Apologetics, Biblical Psychology, discussions in dogma, devotional writings, historical studies, popular tales, have all come under the touch of his active intellect and untiring pen. His writings have so marked a character that it is easy to distinguish anything of his among a hundred others. They bear the unmistakable stamp of a mind of a distinct and peculiar order—wide in its range, restless in its movements, quick to take speculative flights, inspired by poetic feeling and chastened by reverence. The thought is always Biblical in its foundation, but sometimes daring, sometimes fanciful, with frequent dashes of poetic sentiment and theosophic theorising. The style is rich, vivid, full of life, but also difficult to unravel—difficult not through lack of shape or structure, but by reason of the rapid, crowded, imaginative expression which the thought naturally assumes.

As a Hebraist he stands in the front rank of the scholars of the day. His right to that position will not be seriously questioned, or will be challenged only by the prejudiced. In Arabic he owes much to Fleischer, and he received his

early nurture in Biblical and Rabbinical Hebrew, as we have seen, in the school of Fürst. That school is identified with methods and theories which are far from securing general acceptance. Those who are violently opposed to Fürst and his circle, and those who are wedded to extreme critical principles, are under a natural temptation to depreciate the worth of Dr. Delitzsch's services in the cause of Hebrew learning. But most who are competent to speak, ungrudgingly recognise him as one of the foremost authorities in matters relating to the language and literature of the Jews, both Biblical and Rabbinical. Few will dispute his pre-eminence at least among the Hebraists who belong to the ranks of the Evangelical clergy of Germany. His earliest publications were contributions to the history of Jewish literature. In his *Geschichte der nachbiblischen jüdischen Poesie*, which was published in Leipsic just half a century ago, he opened up a field of literature of great interest and almost unknown at that time. But perhaps his greatest achievement in this direction is his Hebrew version of the New Testament. This difficult task was undertaken at the instance of a Society of Friends of the Jews, and in 1870 he was able to issue the Epistle to the Romans as a first instalment. Seven years later he had completed the work, and saw it through the press under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Its superiority to those which had preceded it, those by Hutter, McCaul, and Reichardt, was speedily recognised, and edition followed edition, until in 1885 the seventh was reached, and some 25,000 copies had been sold. Various opinions, as might have been expected, have been pronounced upon its merits. It has been regarded by some as stiff and unelastic in style. But it is universally admitted to excel all others in accuracy, and it promises to keep the field against all comers for a length of time. Last year witnessed the publication of another version, that by Isaac Salkinson, from which

much was expected. But, with occasional advantages in freedom and felicity of rendering, it is not likely to rival Delitzsch's in substantial and enduring qualities. It is needless, however, to say more of this. It has been already discussed in the pages of this Magazine by one who is well entitled to pronounce. We shall be content with the opinion expressed by Professor Driver both upon the Hebrew New Testament and upon Professor Delitzsch himself, of whom he speaks as "amongst living Christian scholars perhaps the most profoundly read in post-Biblical Jewish literature."¹

Much as Dr. Delitzsch has done, however, as a Hebraist, he has done more as an exegete. It is his exegetical works that have made him best known outside his own country. They amount to a considerable number, and have gained wide acceptance on both sides of the Atlantic. Most of them have been translated into English. Some of them are independent works, others form part of the general Commentary on the Old Testament, known as that of Keil and Delitzsch. The earliest of them is the *Habbakuk*, which was published in 1843, and made a companion volume to the *Obadiah* of his early friend, Caspari of Christiania. In 1852 his *Genesis* appeared, which reached its fourth edition in 1872. This was followed by his *Psalms* in 1859-60, of which a third edition was demanded in 1873-74. Then came his *Job* in 1864, which went into a second edition in 1876, *Proverbs* in 1873, *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes* in 1875, and *Isaiah* in 1886, of which last a third edition was issued in 1879. These commentaries have all essentially the same characteristics. They are distinguished by a rich and varied learning which carries us often into very remote sources—insight into the spiritual value of the book, patient attention to the grammar and the structure, vigour and vivacity in reasoned statement.

¹ See the *EXPOSITOR* for April, 1886, pp. 260 f.

Speaking of one of the best known of these works, Klostermann signalises as its choicest qualities the "full stores of knowledge, the open eye for all that is irregular and uncommon, the delicate ear for all shades of expression, reverent enthusiasm for the word of the prophets, unremitting toil and conscientious regard to minutiae." What is thus claimed for one, appears more or less in all. The style of exposition which Professor Delitzsch practises is that which he names the *reproductive* as distinguished from the ordinary *glossatorial* method. Instead of attaching a series of unconnected notes to the separate verses, he aims at reproducing in unbroken statement the contents of each section as a whole, and at giving what he terms "the whole mass of the exegetical material in continuous and living flow,"—a kind of commentary which demands more art and a greater faculty for grasping the whole in the parts than the other, but which, when rightly handled, gives a truer and better proportioned representation of the writing. It is hazardous to say which of these numerous expositions are the best. Different minds will have different preferences. But *Psalms*, *Isaiah*, and *Ecclesiastes* will probably rank highest as the whole. The first two have won wide acceptance. The *Psalms* made a great advance on previous commentaries which had issued from the Evangelical school, as we may see by comparing it with Hengstenberg's slow and arid performance. It may be inferior to Hupfeld, as Dr. Perowne judges, in grammatical analysis, and to Ewald in "intuitive faculty." But it may claim to be superior to either, as the same English scholar cordially avows, in "depth and spiritual insight, as well as the full recognition of the Messianic element." As to his *Isaiah*, it is enough to refer to the opinion expressed by the latest English interpreter of that prophet, Professor Cheyne, who, while he thinks it open to some faults, such as occasional excess of subtlety in grammatical

matters and an over-scrupulous regard for the received text, declares it the "most complete and equal" commentary that had been published up to its time, and says, that "he who will patiently read and digest the new edition of this masterly work will receive a training both for head and heart which he will never forget."

His critical standpoint, too, is by no means rigid. He revolts against the licence and irreverence, although he recognises the ability, of Wellhausen; and he is far from allowing himself the liberties even of Ewald. But he maintains a free attitude to many traditional opinions. It matters not to him who the author of the second half of Isaiah is, provided he be a true prophet. On the Pentateuchal question he adheres in the main to the theory of late codification of laws. He argues with decision in favour of the non-Solomonic authorship of *Koheleth*, and is disposed to bring the Book of Daniel down to about 168 B.C. His views on a number of critical questions are seen in summary form in his volume on *Messianic Prophecies*, which was published in English in 1880.

He has also ventured into the territory of New Testament criticism and exegesis. His most important contribution in this department is his well known Commentary on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, which appeared in 1857. It was issued at the time when the controversy excited by von Hofmann's theory of the Atonement was at its height—a controversy which called forth between thirty and forty publications within eight or nine years. Delitzsch was thus induced to give more than usual attention to the theology of the book. Though some of the points then raised have lost their vitality now, his discussions of doctrinal questions, especially of the *satisfactio vicaria*, are of value still. The commentary has this further element of interest, that it was the first instance of the application of the *reproductive* method of exegesis to one of the larger books of the New

Testament. It was undoubtedly one of the most valuable additions made to the interpretation of the Epistle up to its time, and is far from having lost its importance after the long lapse of years. He has tried his hand, too, on the problem of the Gospels, in his *Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, published in 1853. This, however, is among his least successful efforts, the idea of a parallel between the structure of the Pentateuch and that of the Gospels leading him astray. He has achieved something better in Textual Criticism. His *Studies on the Complutensian Polyglott* (1872), and his two publications entitled *Handschriftliche Funde* (issued in 1861 and 1862), contain important matter—especially the notice of the re-discovered *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae*. This manuscript, which was the one used by Erasmus in 1516 in the construction of his text of the Apocalypse, had been long lost, and with it the key to peculiarities and uncertainties in the Erasmusian text. It was happily re-discovered by Professor Delitzsch in the library of the Prince of Oettingen-Wallerstein in Mayhingen, in Bavaria. His identification of it, and his collation of its text, are services of no small moment to the science. The writer had the privilege, now many years ago, of being with him and our admirable English critic, Dr. Tregelles (who had made a journey to Erlangen for the purpose of examining it), when they were working together on the Codex, and retains a lively recollection of the enthusiasm of the two scholars over the unexpected discovery.

One of Dr. Delitzsch's most characteristic productions, however, is one belonging to a totally different line. That is his *System of Biblical Psychology*, which was published in 1855, and reached its second edition in 1861. It appeared at a time when questions of the kind with which it dealt engaged lively attention, and were taking a new direction under the influence of the historical view of Revelation.

It excited great interest in Germany, soon obtained an extensive circulation in an English translation, and has continued powerfully to attract a certain class of minds. It advocates a qualified *trichotomy*, and finds the key to the Biblical view of man's constitution in the position that *soul* and *spirit* are of one nature but of distinct substance. It is still the most comprehensive treatise on these subjects, although we have completer discussions now of particular points. It abounds in subtle ideas, fertile and often beautiful suggestions, but also in speculations strange, obscure, and mystical. It is so abstruse a book, so full of "newly-coined words and daring ideas," and both in form and in substance so "elaborately involved," as the author himself describes it, that it is difficult to understand and still more difficult to render into ordinary English. It discloses certain influences which have powerfully affected Dr. Delitzsch. One of these is the teaching of Anton Günther, the Bohemian philosopher, whose writings, composed in the interest of a reconciliation between Roman Catholic theology and modern thought, had many admirers half a century ago. Another is the theosophy of the pious Württemberg school, represented by men like Oetinger, and in yet larger measure the earlier, more powerful and more spontaneous theosophy of Jacob Böhme. In the remarkable speculations about the Divine Doxa, the sevenfold manifestation of God, the darkness, the fire, the light of the Glory, and much else, we see the impress left upon Dr. Delitzsch's theology by the writings of that strange, half-inspired Silesian genius, who has influenced so many minds, and who has recently been made better known to English readers by the late Bishop Martensen's monograph.

He has contributed largely also to the more practical and devotional literature of theology. One of the most popular books of this class is his treatise entitled—*Das*

Sacrament des wahren Leibes und Blutes Christi, which was published in 1844, and had reached its sixth edition by 1876. Another publication of considerable interest, especially for the insight it gives into his own spiritual history, is his *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum: Schilderungen und Kritiken*, issued in 1838. He is the author, too, of a number of tales and sketches intended to illustrate Jewish life and beliefs, ancient and modern. To this class belong such writings as his *Jesus und Hillel* (1867; third edition 1879); *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben* (1868; third edition 1879); *Ein Tag in Capernaum* (1871; second edition 1873); *Durch Krankheit zur Genesung* (1873); *José und Benjamin*—a story of Jerusalem in the time of the Herods, in which he has given us, as he says, “a bit of his own life.” They are written in a lively and interesting style, and have attracted many readers both in Germany and in our own country, most of them having been translated into English.

We have given what is far from a complete list of Dr. Delitzsch's writings. It is out of the question to attempt to enumerate the articles, many of them of great value, which have appeared in the magazines. We are obliged to pass by even some books, which certainly are not the least important or characteristic. Among these are his *Anecdota zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Scholastik unter Juden und Moslemen* (1841), and his *Die biblisch-prophetische Theologie*. In the latter, which appeared in 1845, he sketched the development which had taken place in the idea of Old Testament prophecy since the date of Hengstenberg's *Christologie*, and attempted to draw from the works of C. A. Crusius, the eminent opponent of the Wolffian philosophy, the materials for a better reading of the theology, especially the Messianic doctrine, of the prophets. Nor should we fail at least to mention his *System der Christlichen Apologetik*, which was published in 1869, and is probably less known to English readers than any of his larger works.

Dr. Delitzsch, however, has not been a man merely of scientific interests, far less a scholar living in learned leisure. He has taken an active part in the work of his Church, and above all in the cause of Israel. Since 1863 he has carried on a quarterly journal, the *Saat auf Hoffnung*, in the service of Christian effort among the Jews; in which publication he has written enormously. Some of his most interesting contributions, both to the exegesis of the Messianic sections of the Old Testament and to the theology of the Atonement, have appeared here. He has spent himself freely in personal dealing with many Jews. It would be easy to give instances of the wealth of patience, time, and loving hopefulness which it has cost him to follow up individual cases. Though the burden of years is now on him, he is still busy at this work of faith. He has been the main instrument in reviving the idea of the *Institutum Judaicum*, which flourished at Halle in the first half of last century. He has seen similar institutes planted in Leipsic, Erlangen, Berlin, and others of the German universities, as well as away at Christiania, and a new spirit of Christian earnestness evoked thereby among many students.

In the academic halls and in the busy streets of Leipsic there has been no figure more familiar or more honoured for these many years, than that of Franz Delitzsch—the figure under the medium stature, but full of force and vitality, with the quick step, the keen eye, the white locks. He has led a life laborious and useful beyond the ordinary measure, and he is now of those for whom we expect an old age—

“Serene and bright,
And lovely as a Lapland night.”

He has been in many a controversy, and has often been hardly dealt with. But through all he has been able to maintain the spirit that refuses to return evil for evil. And perhaps we cannot better conclude this sketch than by re-

calling one pleasing instance of the recognition which his Christian gentleness and equanimity have won. A criticism of his Commentary on the Psalms had appeared from the pen of Hupfeld, expressed in harsh and disparaging terms. In an article on the text of the Old Testament, which he wrote for a journal, Dr. Delitzsch spoke in pained, but courteous language of this attack. The paper came under Hupfeld's eye, and at once drew from him a letter which is given in the preface to the second edition of Delitzsch's *Psalms*. It was to this effect: "I have only just seen your complaint of my judgment at the close of my work on the Psalms. The complaint is so gentle in its tone, it partakes so little of the bitterness of my verdict, and, at the same time, so strikes chords which are not yet deadened within me, and which have not yet forgotten how to bring back the echo of happier times of common research, and to revive the feeling of gratitude for faithful companionship, that it has touched my heart and conscience."

S. D. F. SALMOND.

RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

PROFESSOR STRACK'S name is a guarantee of accurate and careful work. His *Elementary Hebrew Grammar*¹ has met with a very favourable reception in Germany, and the second edition, from which the English translation has been made, was called for within a comparatively short time. The grammar is arranged under the heads of: (i.) Orthography and Phonology; (ii.) Morphology: (a) The Pronoun, (b) The Noun, (c) Particles, (d) The Verb; (iii.) Remarks on Syntax: (a) Syntax of the Individual Parts of Speech, (b) The Sentence in General, (c) Particular

¹ *Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises, Literature, and Vocabulary*. By Hermann L. Strack, Ph.D., D.D., Professor Extraordinarius of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the second German edition. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1886.)

Kinds of Sentences. Paradigms, a conspectus of literature, and a Chrestomathy and Vocabulary are appended. The work is almost exclusively the outcome of the author's own experience as an instructor—the only way in which a satisfactory elementary grammar can possibly be produced—and in the hands of a careful teacher it will serve as a useful manual of instruction. So much information, however, is packed into a few pages, that the beginner will find it difficult to make his way without constant guidance, especially where information is given which can hardly be understood until further progress has been made. The peculiar arrangement of the paradigms of the weak verbs, though adopted with the excellent object of rendering a mechanical learning by rote impossible, will, it is to be feared, be a stumbling-block; and the absence of exercises for translation into Hebrew is a serious defect. Such exercises are indispensable for fixing rules in the learner's mind and for relieving the monotony of elementary study.

The translation, by Mr. Archibald Kennedy, is well done, though some of the transliterations, e.g. $j=y$, will be puzzling at first.

Another volume of the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* which has lately appeared in an English dress may be here mentioned by the way, though it lies somewhat outside the scope of the present notice. Dr. Socin's *Elementary Arabic Grammar*¹ supplies a distinct want, and will be extremely useful to the beginner, who is naturally daunted by a work of such magnitude as Prof. Wright's exhaustive Grammar.

Two of the Essays in the excellent volume of *Studia Biblica*² (which has been already noticed in these pages) relate to the Old Testament, and a third bears indirectly upon it.

Professor Driver contributes an Essay on *Recent Theories on the Origin and Nature of the Tetragrammaton*. He begins by giving a summary of the arguments by which Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch endeavours to prove the foreign origin of the forms *Yahu* and *Yah*, which he believes to have been current among the people, and of

¹ *Arabic Grammar, Paradigms, Literature, Chrestomathy, and Glossary*. By Dr. A. Socin, Professor in the University of Tübingen. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1885.)

² *Studia Biblica: Essays in Biblical Archæology and Criticism, and Kindred Subjects*. By Members of the University of Oxford. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1885.)

which *Yahweh* was a significant and distinctively Hebrew modification. F. A. Philippi's refutation of Delitzsch's view is next stated, and the conclusion is reached that the theory of an Accadian origin for יהוה breaks down. Next the Greek Ἰάω is shown to be "everywhere dependent on the Hebrew יהוה"; and the theories of Hittite or Phœnician origin are also dismissed as at present "not proven," though some evidence in their favour exists. The meaning of the Name is next investigated, and the interpretation *He that causes to be*, which has recently found considerable favour, is shown to be untenable. The explanation of it given in Exod. iii. 14 may still hold, not however in the sense of *The Eternal* or *The Self-existent* (ὁ ὢν), but of *He who gives evidence of being* by entering into personal relations with His worshippers. A brief abstract like the present can give but an imperfect idea of the great value of such a critical and dispassionate survey of the question, written with full knowledge and sound judgment.

Mr. F. H. Woods discusses *The Light thrown by the Septuagint Version on the Books of Samuel*. He shows how that version not only preserves the true reading in many cases where the Masoretic Text is corrupt, but throws light on the way in which historical books such as Samuel were compiled by the juxtaposition of different narratives, not by their fusion into a new whole. That the difficulties of 1 Sam. xvii., xviii. are to be explained thus is pretty certain; and Mr. Woods finds traces of the same process elsewhere in the text of the LXX.

Dr. Neubauer's paper *On Some Recently Discovered Temanite and Nabatean Inscriptions* gives an account of some of the Aramaic and Nabatean inscriptions discovered by Mr. Doughty, Dr. Euting, and M. Huber. These are of interest and value not only as an addition to our knowledge of Aramaic epigraphy and philology, but on account of the light which they throw on many of the proper names of the Old Testament.

In the *Journal of Philology*, No. 27, Prof. Robertson Smith completes his investigation of the various forms of divination and magic mentioned in the Old Testament. He sums up the net result thus: *A. Divination proper.* (1) Oracle or other divination by the *sacra* of a god, *qesem*. (2) Mantic inspiration, *'ōnēn*. (3) Divination by natural omens and presages, *nahash*. *B. Magic and Magical Divination.* (1) *a*, by magical appliances, *kēshāphīm*; *b*, by incantations, *ḥabārīm*. (2) *a*, by the subterranean *ōb*; *b*, by a familiar spirit, *yid'ōnī*; *c*, by ghosts in general.

Canon Fausset's aim in his *Commentary on the Book of Judges*¹ is threefold: "First, to examine critically the original Hebrew, and to give to the English reader the result of reverent modern scholarship, so that he may know accurately the meaning of the sacred text. Secondly, to give the fruits of modern research in relation to the topographical, historical, and chronological references in the book. Thirdly, to endeavour, in dependence on the Holy Spirit, to draw forth from the narrative and the inspired Word the spiritual lessons designed by the Divine Author." Exposition however overshadows criticism; e.g. there is no note on the text of ii. 3, certainly a passage in which the original Hebrew requires comment; the incorrect translation of the A.V. in v. 11 is passed over without remark; "*Marchers* with the staff of the musterer-general" is hardly the most probable explanation in v. 14; and, in general, the student must not look for such a discussion of critical difficulties which will enable him to form an opinion in cases of doubt. The *Introduction* is brief. Half a page suffices to fix the date of authorship in the reign of Saul or early in that of David. The complicated question of the chronology—not by any means unimportant for the just appreciation of this phase of the discipline of Israel—is almost entirely passed over, though it is set down as "probably from 430 to 450 years"; nor is there any attempt to present a clear picture—so necessary for the reader who is to study the book historically—of the state of Israel during the period. The historical problems of the period are of less interest to the author than the spiritual lessons which may be drawn from the narrative, and it is to the preacher that the work will be most helpful.

The same author's volume of *Studies in the CL. Psalms*² has reached a second edition. He has collected many interesting coincidences of thought and language between the Psalms and the Historical Books, but how many of them deserve to be called *undesigned coincidences* in the sense of Paley and Blunt? "The genuineness of the titles may," he thinks, "be assumed" (p. 2); "nor is there any trace," in the first book, "of any other author

¹ *A Critical and Expository Commentary on the Book of Judges*. By Rev. A. R. Fausset, M.A., Sometime Scholar and Gold Medallist in Classics, Trin. Col. Dublin. (London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1885.)

² *Horæ Psalmicæ. Studies in the CL. Psalms. Their Undesigned Coincidences with the Independent Scripture Histories Confirming and Illustrating both*. [By the same author.] Second edition. (London: J. Nisbet and Co., 1885.)

than David" (p. 80). Granted that the authority of the titles has been somewhat recklessly disregarded, there are few critical students of the Psalter who will be able to go to this length. The work must be read with discrimination; but so read may prove interesting and helpful.

Archdeacon Perowne's *Commentary on Haggai and Zechariah*,¹ which forms a new volume of the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, may be heartily recommended as a scholarly, sound, and thorough exposition of these prophets. The preliminary remarks in chapter ii. of the Introduction to Zechariah on "The Unity of the Book of Zechariah," are admirable. "In dealing with this and similar Biblical questions," he says, "it is important clearly to understand that they are purely critical in their character, and must be discussed and decided on grounds of scholarship alone. It is a mistake to suppose that the higher question of the inspiration and authority of the Bible is involved in them." Such language, from such a writer, will reassure many; and though he comes to the conclusion that the arguments for a plurality of authors are not decisive, he is open to conviction if fresh evidence should be brought forward. Some points in the Introduction and Notes are of course open to question. Recent discoveries have made it very doubtful whether Cyrus was a monotheist (p. 11), and not rather a polytheist and idolater. Surely the explanation that Ahasuerus is Cambyses and Artaxerxes is Smerdis in Ezra iv. (p. 16) must be abandoned, and the episodes related there referred to the time of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I. But as a whole the book is excellent.

The Dean of Westminster's *Lectures on Ecclesiastes*² are designed "to facilitate for the general reader, and for those who have little leisure for more methodical study, the acquisition of some acquaintance with the contents and general teaching of one of the most interesting and instructive, yet most obscure of the writers of the Old Testament." In this object he has succeeded admirably. "The lectures, which attracted a large audience in the Abbey, will

¹ *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Haggai and Zechariah. With Notes and Introduction.* By the Ven. T. T. Perowne, B.D., Archdeacon of Norwich, late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1886.)

² *Lectures on Ecclesiastes, delivered in Westminster Abbey,* by the Very Rev. George Granville Bradley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1885.)

interest a much wider circle of readers. No book of the Old Testament has been so variously and so violently interpreted as Ecclesiastes by commentators whose preconceived ideas as to the necessary character of an inspired book have warped their judgment; and it is refreshing to meet with an exposition at once candid, judicious, and reverent. The Dean endeavours, and with good success, "to let the author speak for himself." To see how he does so, the lectures must be read; it is enough to say here that he sees in the author of the book "one raised up to preserve to us the record of the working of the heart of the Jewish people at a time when God was leading them in their onward pilgrimage through a moral and spiritual wilderness which had its own fiery serpents, its own terrors. It was a time when the light that had illuminated their past course was 'fluttering, faint, and low,' all but extinguished; and the dayspring that was yet to rise upon their path was still below the horizon, barely touching from afar one or other of the heavy clouds that hung above them. It is as studied in this sense, it seems to me, and in this sense only, that these strange and mingled utterances, which by turns attract, repel, bewilder, and instruct, will render up their true meaning, and assert their place within the covers of our Bibles. It is only so that we can see that these things also 'were written for our instruction.'" The book does not of course take the place of a critical commentary, but it will be read with interest by many who would never open a commentary, or would speedily lay it down. It shows a just appreciation of what can be included, and what must of necessity be omitted, in lectures of the kind.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

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